

BECOMING ROMAN?

DIVERGING IDENTITIES AND EXPERIENCES
IN ANCIENT NORTHWEST ITALY



RALPH HAEUSSLER

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BECOMING ROMAN?



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Ralph Haeussler



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Foreword



Near the beginning of his richly documented and wide-ranging regional study, Ralph Haeussler cites Strabo's (4.6.2) account of trade at the port of Genoa between the Ligurians of the mountains and representatives of the lowland world with which his readers were much more familiar. The Ligurians appear as stereotypical outsiders—'eaters of flesh, drinkers of milk' in Brent Shaw's phrase—like every wild, barbarian people since Herodotus's Scythians. Their lives depended on animals not on crops; although in an apparent contradiction they drank beer made from barley; and in another they traded for wine and olive oil, those quintessential products of the civilised plains, which were also the basis of civilising technologies from the Greek symposium to the Roman bath. But in Liguria, says Strabo, the forests come right down to the sea, a compression of the ecology in which the plains are squeezed out, hence the need for an emporium and foreign traders. And what do the Ligurians exchange for their oil and wine, but the timber which their maritime visitors need to build ships? As so often, just below the surface of what reads like vivid reportage we can make out the enduring structures of an ancient classical discourse about civility and barbarism. Strabo, of course, claims to describe not the Liguria of deep prehistory or even of the Golasecca culture of the early Iron Age, but that of his own late Republican and early imperial present. That Liguria had already experienced, as Haeussler shows, a dramatic cultural rupture that transformed this region—like many others—in the early part of the last century BC. And the wild men from the forests above Genoa were in Strabo's day third-generation Roman citizens.

What Ralph Haeussler terms Northwest Italy—an area that roughly corresponds to modern Liguria and Piedmont and the Val d'Aosta—was one of a number of large regions on the border of the Mediterranean world. In antiquity we could compare it with the lower Rhône Valley or the valley of the Guadalquivir, or even to the Nile Valley or the North African Maghreb, each of them accessible from the Mediterranean but

also forming little worlds in themselves. Geographically, Piedmont represents the upper section of the Po Valley: it is enclosed by the Apennines to the south and the Alps to the west and north, a region of sharp vertical ecotones between mountains, foothills and plains. The Po Valley itself was once a northwestern extension of the Adriatic, now filled with ancient sediments which, together with better natural irrigation than much of the Mediterranean Basin, made it a fertile landscape for ancient farming. But it was also a fragmented landscape, broken up into little valleys and hillsides, and it was a little remote from the connecting sea. The routes over the mountains were hard, and those up the valley were very long. Throughout prehistory, it was both open to new trends and occasional visitors, but it also developed and retained its particularity. It was never to be an area of great cities sustained by rolling grainlands, and even now it feels distinctly different than the vast flat plains of the lower Po Valley that stretch down from Milan east and south to the delta.

Regions of this sort have arguably not yet made enough of a contribution to the broad discussions of how the expansion of Roman power transformed the societies and economies of the eventual empire, and of the linked processes by which new cultures emerged. For historical reasons, scholarly attention has been directed more often to the landscapes of temperate Europe—especially those of Britain, northern France and the should be Low Countries—and the littoral plains of central Italy, southern Greece and areas that resembled them: this is one reason to welcome this study of a place that was both in, and out, of the Mediterranean world. Haeussler's region is continuous with other Italian landscapes—most obviously the colonial territories of the lower Po Valley, and the hill territories of Tuscany and Umbria to its south. Yet, it is also part of a series of circum-alpine territories of Savoy and the Swiss Plateau, of the Bavarian Voralpenland and upper Austria, territories where the Rhône, Rhine and Danube rise as well as the Po, lands accommodated only at a late stage into the Roman empire and classical civilisation. During the Principate these included the Provinces of Rhaetia and Noricum, part of Upper Germany, Gallia Lugdunensis and Eastern Narbonensis. It is good, occasionally, to test these conventional boundaries, in this case between Italy and the Provinces and between Europe and the Mediterranean.

Yet Haeussler's study has another interest, one that derives not so much from the peculiarities of his region, but from the particular way he has chosen to approach it. This is not a matter of idiosyncrasy—all conceivable categories of data are marshalled here, from numismatics and onomastics to mortuary archaeology, typology and the mapping of settlement patterns—and Haeussler does not challenge the broad and

agreed chronological division in terms of which the archaeology of the region has been understood. Material culture in the early Iron Age (corresponding to the Golasecca culture) of the sixth and fifth centuries is replaced by something different in the fourth (although he is suitably cautious about explaining this in terms of Celtic invasions) and the fundamental change he detects in the early last century BC coincides—to put it no more strongly—with changes that have been observed elsewhere in Italy and in the provinces. This narrative leads us from a world observable only through artefacts to one in which, thanks to a mass of epigraphy, he can tell us the names and origins of many of the inhabitants.

What is distinctive about Haeussler's approach is his determination to keep individual social agents at the heart of the analysis across nearly a millennium of change. That quest for the individual stands out against the background of ideological structures of the kind that shaped Strabo's account; against the long-term constraints imposed by the geology and hydrology, the climate and pedology of the upper Po Basin; and increasingly too against what Haeussler characterises as the 'framework' imposed by imperial rule. Many accounts of the experience of Rome's subjects allow these structures and frameworks to determine their activities. Here, by contrast, there is a consistent attempt to spot the results of cultural bricolage, to see negotiation at work, to assess choices and motives, to identify the different experiences of the individuals ground through the mill of history. This is a difficult enterprise. None of Haeussler's subjects speak, except in the laconic and lapidary style of Roman inscriptions that so often conceal personal quirks behind generic conventions. When local differences do emerge—such as the relatively small scale of urbanism, and the rarity of villas—it is not always easy to decide how free the choices were that generated that pattern. Equally when one town produces a number of *equites* or even senators and its neighbour does not, does this represent different strategies or simply different success in chasing the same goals? Or perhaps just a different distribution of property? And this is without opening up the whole question of whether we can speak of the individual in prehistory, or in the pre-modern world as a whole, or how powerful motivations are collectively formed and reproduced that lead so many social agents to freely make near identical choices.

But the effort is well-worth making and Haeussler's results will be read with interest by all those working on parallel problems across the great sweep of the empire. For what we have here is a detailed application of an approach to agency that many recent studies have called for, and one conducted on the basis of exhaustive research in a rich archaeological and historical data-set. If an analytical approach based on methodological individualism can succeed, it will succeed in regions like the upper

Po Valley where long research traditions and a mass of data of all kinds provide the most propitious circumstances for its application. Put more bluntly, if the individual social agent cannot be discerned and studied here, what hope is there of finding her or him in epigraphically impoverished regions like southern Britain or Lower Germany, or in landscapes that have suffered much more disruption from modern agriculture and urbanism than have the hills and meadows of Piedmont.

For all these reasons, Ralph Haeussler's careful and immensely scholarly account of the passage from prehistory into history in the shadow of the Alps deserves to be given a warm welcome.

Greg Woolf
St Andrews

Preface



‘Romanisation’ studies were en vogue in Britain during my time as an MA student at University College London: Martin Millett had just published his groundbreaking work on the Romanisation of Britain, Michael Crawford lectured on the Romanisation of Italy, John Wilkes on North Africa and the Danube Provinces, and Richard Reece was re-thinking our methodologies for the ‘Romanisation’ of Britain. Having written on the Romanisation of the *Civitas Vangionum* in 1992 (Haeussler 1994), I was unsatisfied with merely plotting Roman objects and features as evidence for ‘Romanisation’ in the conventional progressive model. Instead I wanted to know how people experienced Roman domination and how it affected their everyday life. Could not they have just continued following their ancestral habits? What motivated individuals to move to towns, wear Roman-style clothes, adopt Roman names, deities, material culture and lifestyle, and perhaps even internalise Roman values, virtues and ideologies? How was it possible that people within a few generations seemingly changed their identities, their aspirations and their beliefs? Or perhaps ‘Romanisation’ was merely superficial as Richard Reece suggested?

This book aims at a better understanding of the individual in the local context who was faced with Roman imperialism. It is his or her actions that decided which Roman cultural propositions were adopted and which were rejected. Did people buy into Roman culture or did Roman cultural traits acquire new meanings? How did new identities and new cultures develop that were neither ‘Roman’ nor ‘native’? This is an interdisciplinary work. Besides archaeology and history, an understanding of the dynamics of sociocultural change in the Roman period also requires some methodological input from sociology and anthropology: what is the impact of empires in modern colonial encounters, how do people react and internalise modern discourses and cultural models, how do humans negotiate their identities and their place in the world? For this study, the setting of Northwest Italy provides an interesting case

scenario to test our models and hypotheses about sociocultural change in very different environments in the late Republic and the Principate.

In the past fifteen years, the archaeological literature on Northwest Italy has made a quantum leap, especially thanks to the efforts of the Soprintendenza archeologica del Piemonte in Turin, and similarly the list of studies on ‘Romanisation’, ‘identity’, ‘bricolage’, ‘creolisation’ and ‘ethnicity’ has multiplied in recent years, and not everything which has been published since I first wrote on this topic could be taken into account. Within the limitations of the Harvard System, references had to be restricted to some important and/or recent works and publications. For full details of epigraphic references, please consult the Latin epigraphic database at www.manfredclauss.de.

I am especially indebted to Prof Ruth Whitehouse at UCL for reading the final manuscript and to Prof Greg Woolf, Prof Michael Crawford, Prof John North and Dr Astrid Lindenlauf for their constructive comments on earlier drafts. For their support and advice, I thank above all my PhD supervisors Michael Crawford and Sue Hamilton as well as Prof John Wilkes, Dr Richard Reece, Prof Chris Tilley and Prof Ruth Whitehouse. In Italy, I have to thank Dr Anna Rosso (conservatore del Museo Leone, Vercelli), Dr Gabriela Pantò (conservatore di Museo di Antichità, Torino), Dr Filippo Maria Gambari, and Dr Patrizia Petitti (Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici del Piemonte, Turin), Dr Ermanno Arslan (director of the Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche e Numismatiche, Milan), Prof Emilio Gabba, Prof Pierluigi Tozzi and Prof Maurizio Harari (University of Pavia), Prof Giovannella Cresci Marrone (University of Venice), Prof Giovanni Mennella (University of Genoa), Dr Lucia Gervasini (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Liguria), Museo, Archeologico Lomellino, Gambolò and the Museo della Canavese in Cuorgné. I also have to thank Richard Talbert, the Ancient World Mapping Center and Princeton University Press for allowing me to use the Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World for the distribution maps in this book. Above all, I have to thank my parents for all their support and their patience.

Introduction: De-Romanising the Roman Empire



In his *Philippicae* (3.5.13), Cicero described the success story of Cisalpine Gaul:

est enim ille flos Italiae, illud firmamentum imperi populi Romani, illud ornamentum dignitatis. tantus autem est consensus municipiorum coloniarumque prouinciae Galliae ut omnes ad auctoritatem huius ordinis maiestatemque populi Romani defendendam conspirasse uideantur.

For that is the flower of Italy; that is the bulwark of the empire of the Roman people; that is the chief ornament of our dignity. But so perfect is the unanimity of the municipal towns and colonies of the province of Gaul, that all men in that district appear to have united together to defend the authority of this order, and the majesty of the Roman people.

Since the Roman conquest in the third and second centuries BC, Cisalpine Gaul had undergone an enormous transformation. Once hosting the fiercest enemies of the Roman state, it had already become the *flos Italiae* in Cicero's time. Since the late Republic, it was also a major recruitment area for the Roman army and subsequently also for the Senate, thus becoming an integral part of Augustus's *tota Italia*. David (1994, 8–9) concluded: 'en se romanisant aussi, l'Italie s'unifiait'. But was Italy ever fully 'Romanised'? Was there ever a unified Italy of Roman citizens sharing a common culture? Certainly in Northwest Italy, major developments only happened after the grants of Latin rights and Roman citizenship (89–49 BC), more than 100 years after the Roman conquest. In this respect, the end of local cultures in the first century BC

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(the term ‘culture’ is just a convenient shorthand to describe a set of artefacts and rituals that dominate in a particular period or region, like La Tène or Ligurian ‘culture’) indicates the extent to which pre-existing cultural models, symbols of power and hierarchies seem to have lost their meaning, generally resulting in a rupture in the archaeological record very unlike the rather gradual and incremental cultural developments in the two previous centuries.

Not many empires had such a profound impact on the conquered peoples as the Roman empire. Encompassing vast culturally and ethnically diverse territories, united under a single political authority, Rome’s expansion initiated—or at least catalysed—processes of social, economic and cultural change at an unprecedented scale in hundreds of local communities. People were incorporated into the *Imperium Romanum* in such a way that their material culture, languages, cults, rituals and identities seemingly lost particularities, becoming almost indistinguishable from what could be found in Rome. But Rome did not create cultural homogenisation; instead, we must assume that local particularities persisted and continued to evolve gradually, comparable to the Roman East. We therefore should focus on the individual and his or her decisions that introduced changes in material culture, identity and behaviour. The intensifying social and economic contacts across such a vast empire not only allowed the social agent to make choices from an increasingly large repertoire of artefacts and ideas from across the empire, but this empire also necessitated a common ‘language’—not just Latin, but also status symbols, dress code, conduct, cults, institutions, etc.—at least for those political, social and economic ‘classes’ that profited most from the ‘opportunities’ which the Roman empire provided. At the same time, all people—individuals and communities—were constantly negotiating their place in the empire by reshaping their local identities. This created local cultures in this increasingly ‘global’ world of the Roman empire that were neither ‘Roman’ nor ‘native’ (cf. Haeussler 1997–98 (1999); 1998a; Hingley 2005). While Rome provided important exogenous stimuli, these often only invigorated or realigned already existing endogenous developments.

In this respect, Northwest Italy is an exemplary case as it developed from one of the most marginal regions to one of the most flourishing and strongly urbanised regions of Italy, home of countless Roman *equites* and senators. Roman perception of this area changed dramatically from the original defeat of the Insubres in 222 BC (stirred by the Romans’ *terror gallicus* or ‘pericolo gallico’: Gabba 1984b, 210), to the collective grants of Latin rights and Roman citizenship after the Social War and culminating in an integrated part of Augustus’ *tota Italia*. In Roman

times, this area consisted of the Augustan *regio IX Liguria* and the *regio XI Transpadana*, west of the river Ticino (the ‘Insubrian’ area to the east was studied by Grassi 1995) and the Italian part of the Alpine provinces, notably Segusio and the Alpes Cottiae, but excluding the Alpes Maritimae if we follow the geographical definition of Morabito 2010: the territory of the Bagienni and neighbouring peoples belongs to the *regio IX Liguria*. We also include the colony of Luna as it belongs to Liguria, though it became part of the Augustan *regio VII Etruria*. Together, this makes up a coherent area of research which also presents interesting cross-sections of Italy, intersecting important political, ethnic, cultural and geographical boundaries, such as the river Po or the Apennine Mountains (Figure I.1).

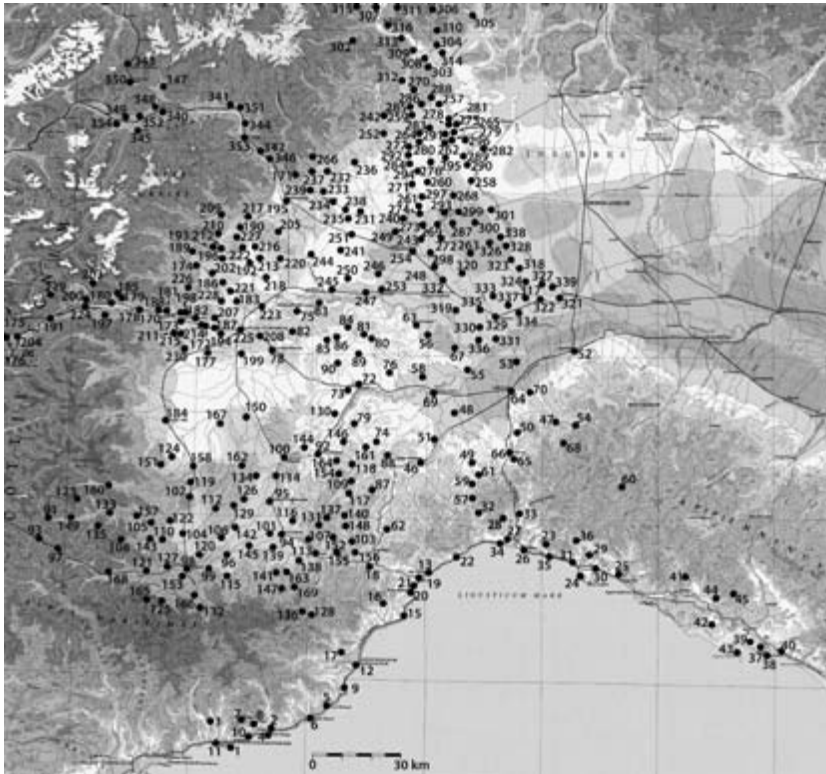


Figure I.1 The area of study, consisting of modern-day Liguria, Piedmont, Aosta and the Lomellina (Lombardy) west of the river Ticino (numbers refer to sites in the index in the Appendix) (Map: author).¹

But how can we explain sociocultural change? There are of course two basic explanatory frameworks. On the one hand, one might assume that it was primarily the result of Roman imperialism. Is it possible that deportations, enslavements, economic exploitations, taxation, land confiscations, enforced urbanisation and army requirements did not leave many alternatives to the ‘conquered’ (cf. Mattingly 2006; Whittaker 1997)? On the other hand, one could focus on the ‘natives’ voluntarily taking up the numerous economic opportunities and cultural values that Rome provided, aspiring for social advancement by profiting from Roman infrastructure or using Roman cultural propositions to consolidate their status (Haverfield 1923; cf. Millett 1990). But ‘Romanisation’ was no ‘accidental’ outcome resulting from arbitrary interactions between ‘conquerors’ and ‘conquered’. Instead, people’s decisions were increasingly guided, among others, by a kind of colonial discourse propagating Rome’s superiority, to which we come back later. It is important to reassess the potential and real impact of Roman imperialism while focusing on the experience and the choices of the ‘indigenous’ social actor and his or her decisions to resist, adapt and assimilate to Roman rule (*indigenous* or *native* is taken here to mean people living in Northwest Italy at the eve of the conquest and to which one traditionally attributes ethnic labels like Celtic/Gallic, Ligurian, Insubrian, etc.). In Cisalpine Gaul, we can see that the ‘natives’ had several options. Instead of following the Roman lead, people could also express stronger local identities, employ local alphabets and languages and even ‘Celticise’ the iconography of their local coinage in a nominally Roman period—as happened in the second century BC. This reminds us that Roman imperialism can also be counterproductive and that we need to look for other processes to explain the social and cultural developments in Roman Italy.

The term ‘Romanisation’ conventionally describes this phenomenon of intensive sociocultural change across the Roman empire (Woolf 2001b). Mommsen (e.g. 1909) and Haverfield (1906; 1923; 1924) have first developed this theme over a century ago (cf. Freeman 1997, 27–50; Hingley 1996). Haverfield’s model of ‘Romanisation’ stressed the voluntary aspect with ‘natives’ aspiring to the ‘benefits’ of Roman civilisation:

The definite and coherent culture of Rome took hold on uncivilised but intelligent provincials and planted in them the wish to learn its language and share its benefits . . .

(Haverfield 1923)

Much was due to official encouragement by statesmen who cherished the ideal of assimilating the provinces or who recognised more cynically that civilised men are easier ruled than savages.

(Haverfield 1923)

This statement obviously mirrors the notion of a protectorate in nineteenth-century British colonialism. It legitimised Roman rule as it was considered to be beneficial, bringing ‘civilisation’ to the ‘savages’. Needless to say, Haverfield’s ‘coherent culture of Rome’ never existed, and his ethnocentric notion must be discarded. But he also emphasised the ‘voluntary’ aspect of ‘Romanisation’:

The growth (. . .) of Roman civilisation was not due to the movement of a race. It is an instance, and perhaps the best instance in all history, of the influence of a higher civilisation on lower races fitted to assimilate it. (. . .) It was in the main a voluntary movement. Doubtless some official measures encouraged it by accident or intention.

(Haverfield 1924, 175)

The Romanisation critique has consequently been mounting for a long time, for example in Broughton’s 1929 study on the ‘Romanisation’ of Africa Proconsularis. It is not just the term which suggests a unilateral development, but the whole methodology. Pflaum (1973, 66) very firmly rejected the ideological baggage of the term: ‘(. . .) la romanisation (. . .) procède d’une idéologie du XIX^e siècle, dont nous devons résolument nous libérer (. . .). Elle appartient à l’ère coloniale et meurt avec elle.’

Besides Haverfield’s colonial approach, we also need to free ourselves from the constraints of such a model and critically rethink our methodologies. But some of Haverfield’s powerful images, like the voluntary movement, the progressive ‘Romanisation’ or Rome’s superior culture, continue to persist to this day despite the increasing academic interest in this field in recent years. And despite some groundbreaking works (e.g. Hingley 2005; Mattingly 2006; Roth 2003; Webster 2001; Webster and Cooper 1996), we can still today read statements like ‘le terme “romanisation”(. . .) désigne de façon adéquate un processus indiscutable’ (Dondin-Payre and Raepsaet-Charlier 2006, vi). But of course, it all depends what you mean by ‘Romanisation’. For some, it may just mean the way Rome consolidated its dominions by roads and colonies (e.g. Luraschi 1979; Gabba 1984b; Bandelli 1985; Giorcelli Bersani 1994). Others use it to describe Roman ‘influence’, like the distribution of Italic amphorae, Campanian pottery, Roman coins in Iron Age communities or the adoption of Roman pottery styles (e.g. De Marinis 1977, 34–5). Based on the use of Latin onomastics on stone inscriptions, Walser (1989, 66–88) saw the complete Romanisation of the Aosta Valley just a few decades after the conquest, while Galsterer (1987b, 79–89) concluded that Romanisation and urbanisation were identical. And while the grant of Roman citizenship to the *Transpadani* in 49 BC marked the conclusion of the ‘Romanisation’ of Cisalpine Gaul for Kremer (1994, 121),

the same event merely marked the beginning of a new and more intense phase of sociocultural developments in our study as it catalysed people's social integration, which in turn had an impact on the individuals' self-understanding and his/her public display of identity. This already shows that our focus will be on the local people and their discrepant experiences of a world dominated by Rome. Rather than to see the indigenous population as a mere recipient of Roman 'culture', we have to ask what motivated the individual to initiate—consciously or not—sociocultural change.

Besides the term's ambiguity, 'Romanisation' also has an inherent notion of a unilateral process of cultural diffusion from Rome to its subjects (cf. e.g. critique by Barrett 1997a–b). Such a model of progressive cultural change shows that Haverfield's (1923) notion 'that Romanisation proceeded steadily' is still valid in people's mind today. As a result some have tried to measure 'degrees of Romanisation' (cf. e.g. Blázquez 1975, 492; Stupperich 1986; Zotovic 2002, 33; Féret and Sylvestre 2008; Spielvogel 2009, 158), and any divergence or discrepancy from the norm was therefore attributed to a region's 'underdevelopment' or perhaps even considered a statement of 'cultural resistance'. This results in statements, like 'immature Romanisation' (Cresci Marrone 1991a, 83–9), only on the basis of indigenous names or the incorrect use of Latin on inscriptions in the Roman period, as if they were conscious expressions of resistance.

But the concept of cultural resistance is flawed if it refers to a divergence on the road to complete *Romanitas*. In a post-colonial context, one searches for 'subtle forms of subaltern rebellions' to express everyday resistance against forms of domination (Brown 1996, 729; cf. Sahlin 1993), and cultural retardation is considered by some as a statement of resistance (cf. Benabou 1976; Hingley 1997). However, in the Roman period, the evidence for cultural resistance is ambiguous as it consists of instances of persistence and cultural hybridisation in local cultures. But should we not expect to find persistence? This persistence need not mean any more than the continued validity and reinforcement of pre-existing social patterns and cultural models and their manifestation in material culture, implying a continued assertion of existing cultural norms that guided people's behaviour. This need not imply deliberate acts of refusal to accept Roman cultural values and artefacts. Certainly under the Republic, indigenous material cultures could be expected to continue, adapt and evolve, while generations of indigenous social actors were negotiating with imperial structures, and a certain persistence, not resistance, is not unexpected. From this perspective, it is the presence of cultural traits of Italo-Roman origin that would need to be explained: why do Italo-Roman pottery forms replace local pottery types—and

how significant is this change, considering that pottery styles and their decoration could have had a specific meaning in local society? Moreover, following Foucault there are daily struggles between dominance and resistance (Walzer 1986), and therefore all social life ‘entails degrees of dominance and subordination’ (Brown 1996, 734). But already Ortner (1984, 154) pointed out that an overemphasis on domination and conflict overwhelms ‘the other face of social life, cooperation and reciprocity’, similar to Forest’s assertion that people in certain types of societies search for conformity (1998, 244). Brown (1996) has shown that dominance and resistance not only take place between conquerors and conquered, but also between different actors and groups within the indigenous society. This means that people cannot be expected to have been united in their decisions, also in their cultural decisions. We therefore have to look at the individual acts of negotiation between the various cultural understandings which were available to the social agent.

But what ‘Roman culture’ is one meant to expect in the archaeological record? With the growth of the empire, Roman Italy is considered the conventional yardstick with which to compare cultural change in the provinces. Mommsen (1909) even talked about the ‘Italianisation’ of the provinces. But there was no Italian culture, merely a set of artefacts from different parts of a linguistically and ethnically diverse peninsula. In this respect, the interpretation of Italic amphorae and Campanian and Arretine pottery as cultural markers seems highly problematic as they do not reflect a common ‘Roman’, ‘Italic’ or ‘Italo-Roman’ culture. Rome’s culture in the late Republic seems even more ambiguous as it was itself a ‘creole’ culture with Romans having taken on and transformed many Etruscan, Italic and Greek cultural elements for centuries (for creolisation, *v. infra*). For Republican élites in Italy, Hellenic education and lifestyle were important elements (cf. Veyne 1979; Friedman 1994), but they were largely adapted into existing local cognitions; in Rome, for example, élite identity continued to focus on the ‘ancestral habits’ (*mores maiorum*) despite ‘Hellenisation’.

Also in the Principate, the task of defining Roman culture remains difficult. Augustus might have redefined what it meant to have been ‘Roman’ by reviving ancient cults and moral values, providing *exempla* for élite lifestyle and conduct, and distinguishing Rome’s culture from Hellenism, but at the same time the material culture in Rome and Italy was becoming even more ‘global’ with people being able to tap into an empire-wide Mediterranean network. This rather ‘global’ culture provided a repertoire which the individual could use to express his/her identities depending on context. But the question arises as to what is particularly *Roman* about a ‘cosmopolitan culture’ that includes many elements from conquered cultures (cf. Millett 1990, 1), except for the reliance on

an infrastructure created by Rome, the intensifying interaction and interdependences between regions and a range of artefacts as status markers and symbols of power relating to Roman ideology and Roman power structures (cf. Zanker 1988, 79–263; Haeussler 1997–98 (1999)). Altogether it seems that there was no ‘coherent’ culture—neither ‘Roman’ nor ‘indigenous’. Are we just fooled into believing in ‘Romanisation’ by a rather small range of visible artefacts, like mass-produced Samian ware, glass, oil lamps and amphorae?

The term ‘culture’ must be viewed critically (cf. Gupta and Ferguson 1992; Allan 1998). Clifford Geertz (1973a, 89) defined it as ‘(. . .) an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life’. ‘Cultures’—and equally ‘societies’—are not static units with an internal cohesion. There may be many internal contradictions and regional variations. Moreover, each individual might experience—and use—his/her local ‘culture’ differently, especially in larger and more diverse communities which provide a wider range of cultural propositions, cultural and religious diversification and human specialisation, even though the dominant classes might have attempted to communicate and perform a specific range of cultural messages in collective rituals. Rather than seeing *culture* as a unity, we have to imagine a whole web of cultural models, symbols, discourses, ideologies, rules of conduct and religious understandings. We should consequently reject the bipolarised idea that two cultures are interacting in a colonial encounter: the ‘Roman’ and the ‘native’ culture, a ‘civilised’ and a ‘barbarian’ culture. Instead of a progressive, unilateral adoption of an imaginary ‘Roman culture’, we need to focus instead on people’s creativity (cf. Roth 2003), i.e. the way people used objects, rituals, language, myths, history, norms of conduct and other cultural models that were ‘available’ or ‘at hand’ to present their own self, to create their own identity and to use as guidance for their actions. It therefore probably did not matter to most people whether these elements expressed ‘Romanness’ or not.

Is cultural ‘Romanisation’ then nothing but an error in reasoning? The Roman conquest initiated many important developments. The conquered people endured tribute and taxes, land redistribution, the construction of roads and towns and being conscripted into the army, to mention but a few. But on its own this could not force them to look to Rome for cultural ‘guidance’ or strive for a Roman identity or lifestyle. Then again, a number of developments were taking place in the regions under the *maiestas imperii Romani* that were important to stimulate sociocultural change. Provocatively we might call them a side-product of Roman imperialism, like the intensification of economic exchange and

cross-cultural interaction as well as the expanding web of personal bonds across Italy and beyond. Among others, these developments created the need for a *lingua franca*, they rendered pre-existing ethnic identities increasingly meaningless, unbalanced existing socioeconomics and hierarchies, and necessitated a realignment of local societal, economic and cultural patterns that were increasingly interdependent and intertwined across Italy. In such a situation, people's identities were changing, perhaps largely unnoticeable to the individual. In order to construct one's personal identity, to consolidate or reinvent the ideologies of local élites, to rewrite local history or reinvent local cults, people employed artefacts and political, mythical or religious elements that were readily available, combining and adapting them to their needs in a process that one might call 'bricolage' (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1974, 16–36; Roth 2003; cf. Chapter 1.3). And with the increasing interactions across Italy—and people's active participation in Italy-wide affairs—it should not surprise us that cultural expressions and identities were becoming similar to each other from the late Republic onwards (though the more subtle differences may not always be evident in the archaeological and epigraphic record). Tapping into the resources of an increasingly 'global culture' appears like a rather subconscious process—and not the often proclaimed, conscious self-Romanisation.

Was there anything like 'Roman culture'? If there was anything like *Romanitas*, then we might describe it as the 'club rules' for the more powerful and wealthy élites in the Roman empire, providing them with shared rules of conduct, a language of status symbols and *exempla* for élite lifestyle and élite activities, like philanthropy and patronage. A network of patronage links created a more direct exchange of ideas between local élites and Rome. But even élite culture can vary, depending on the individual's status (senator, equestrian, decurion) and ancestry of status (e.g. *novi homines* vs. patricians), while élite presentation in a local context may also have to be meaningful to the local population.

The objective of this book is not to produce a gazetteer of archaeological finds and inscriptions in Northwest Italy. Plotting changes on a timescale or artefact distributions on maps is not sufficient to understand the numerous sociocultural developments for which we have to consider people's motivations and aspirations. Following Clifford Geertz's idea of a 'thick description' (1973a), we need to understand the reasons behind human action. It is the individual in Cisalpine Gaul who must have been torn apart by different motivations: the wish to preserve the *status quo* and consolidate one's status; the desire for social advancement and economic success or the decision to start a new life in a town, in the army or in another province. The question remains as to who actually wanted to be a Roman in Cisalpine Gaul. This was a social and cultural

development that involved people's lifestyle, cultural representation, language, onomastics, self-identification with Rome and the legal status of a Roman citizen. We can imagine this on various levels, like the participation in economic structures, profiting from the privileges of Roman citizenship, displaying one's status publically, following Roman laws, using Italo-Roman material culture and many more; Yet, the focus continues on people's *Romanitas*. Some people might have felt 'pressured' into becoming Roman, notably the top élite at the senatorial level, but perhaps also the municipal élites, the wealthy freedmen, entrepreneurs and legionaries. But there are differences: the senators from Cisalpine Gaul may have not only been expected to wear the toga and excel in Latin rhetoric, but also to internalise the Roman *mores maiorum*, while a legionary learned basic Latin, participated in the worship of a few Roman state gods, including the emperor and participated in an imperial discourse on Roman superiority. Still, knowledge of Roman culture and lifestyle was different from that of a senator, and a person's actions and self-identity consequently differed enormously.

In this respect, each individual in Roman Italy 'created' his/her own identity and lifestyle. Here, the term lifestyle goes beyond the concept of identity; it consists of a set of behaviours and practices that the individual considered appropriate in a certain context, reflecting the individual's values, attitudes, personal and group identities and views of the world, which all together effected people's actions, aspirations, dress, language, consumption and religious beliefs (Giddens 1991; cf. Spaargaren and van Vliet 2000). But as we shall see, the individual's lifestyle choices were often constrained by a large number of social norms, cultural conventions and by the availability of cultural elements to display his/her status or identity. In other words: can there ever be a 'Roman lifestyle'? Or are we dealing with a set of behavioural models that were unique to each individual, specific to his/her experience, education, social relations and the geographical locality. In our attempt for a better understanding of sociocultural change under Roman rule, we therefore need to take into account comparative studies from other historic periods as well as from sociology and anthropology. This will be the theme of the next Chapter.

NOTE

1. Permission to reproduce the base map for Figure I.1 from the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* was graciously granted by Princeton University Press.

CHAPTER ONE



Conceptualising Processes of Sociocultural Change

1.1 DECONSTRUCTING ‘ROMANISATION’

It is not an easy task to ‘de-Romanise’ our analyses. There is no point in replacing ‘Romanisation’ with another term. For example, Curchin’s (1991, 55) equation reveals the futility of replacing one term by another: ‘assimilation, acculturation, Romanisation (. . .) all these expressions refer to the same process’. Terms like acculturation, assimilation, bricolage, creolisation, diffusionism or globalisation all have their own advantages and weaknesses, but they can help us to rethink our methodologies and scaffold our ability to understand many of the diverse sociocultural developments that we can recognise in Northwest Italy between the Roman conquest and the third century AD. The concept of identity has become a very important notion of ‘Romanisation’ studies in recent years, but unfortunately identity only focuses on one aspect of peoples’ lives under Roman rule. Moreover, much of the available evidence concerns people’s *public* displays of power and status, such as on inscriptions or in a funerary context. Many studies have concentrated on local élites and ignored the subaltern classes (i.e. the nonélites, people of inferior rank, like craftsmen and farmers), but it is important to notice that different sociocultural developments affected different social groups to a varying degree and that élites might have reacted to a movement from below.

The best way forward seems to be deconstruct ‘Romanisation’ into its various constituents and processes and then try to put these developments in context. Many of these societal, economic and cultural developments not only took place simultaneously, they were also interrelated, building

Becoming Roman? Diverging Identities and Experiences in Ancient Northwest Italy by Ralph Haeussler, 27–74. ©2013 Left Coast Press, Inc. All rights reserved.

upon each other. These processes may have ranged from mere long-distance contacts by trade to people consciously or unconsciously adopting or assimilating what they perceived as a Roman or *élite* identity. We also should not put too much emphasis on exogenous processes to understand change in Northwest Italy (e.g. colonisation as well as military, economic and fiscal structures) as there are also endogenous developments that had already started prior to the Roman conquest—though some of these endogenous developments (e.g. state-formation processes or urbanisation) may have changed course during the Roman period.

At a basic level, we first need to examine in this chapter (1) the *adoption* of ‘alien’ traits (imported artefacts, cultural values and ideas) by local peoples and communities, both *élite* and *nonélite*. This leads us to questions of (2) *choice* (which ‘alien’ traits were adopted and which were not?), (3) *accessibility* (which goods were available to the ‘natives’?) and (4) *motivation*: what motivated the social agent to choose a particular alien artefact and trait? Here, we must jettison the idea of a dominant ‘civilisatory’ culture which people voluntarily took up. Instead we have to ask whether ‘alien’ artefacts merely served to display and consolidate one’s status in a traditional understanding or whether they represented aspirations to a new lifestyle. Also, what motivates people to migrate (e.g. rural exodus; urbanisation) or fight for the Romans as mercenaries? As a premise for adoption, we must study (5) the *contact zone* where people of different cultural backgrounds met, interacted and exchanged goods and ideas: for example, in the Republic contact might be by long-distance trade or in a market place. And we therefore need to understand the nature of (6) the *exchange patterns* and how they evolved.

So far, cultural adoptions would appear like a rather arbitrary and accidental process: the ‘conquered’ people chose elements of the ‘incoming’ culture of the ‘conquerors’ which would have had unpredictable societal, economic and cultural consequences. This may not have led to ‘Romanisation’, but to a reaffirmation of a local identity, as in the case of a ‘Celtic’ identity in Northwest Italy in the second century BC, despite the Roman conquest. This is why we need to look at (7) *exogenous* factors, some of which may have provided a focus or model for local decision-making and in particular for local identities. The Roman state may have put in place a series of structures that pressured people to adapt and integrate. Besides disruptive features, like enslavement, deportation or dispossession, the conquered population may have had to (8) *accommodate* Roman demands, like taxation and army requirements.

Some factors may have created a situation in which people were pressured to (9) *integrate*, notably mixing into Italy-wide social and economic structures, Roman patronage structures, Roman legions,

Roman-style municipalities and towns, and into the Roman state as a whole. This must have also had certain disruptive elements, like the ‘de-tribalisation’ of pre-Roman *ethnoi*. From the first century BC onwards, Latin rights and grants of Roman citizenship reflect Rome’s capacity and willingness to integrate the conquered populations. This societal integration can also have cultural implications: the keyword is (10) *identity* as people may have wished to display their old and new identities, like the status of a Roman citizen, by a variety of media. As we shall see, many new identities were created at individual and collective levels; we should bear in mind that people could have had multiple and sometimes contradictory identities in an increasingly complex world. Roman identity is indeed a difficult concept, since even the inhabitants of Rome could express varying identities and lifestyles, largely depending on their social status.

Some people may have also been pressured to (11) *self-assimilate*, i.e. to publicly reject their ‘native’ culture and adopt the standard or dominant culture in the hope of social advancement. It is possible that people even (12) *internalised* the cultural propositions of Rome. But what characterised this (13) *dominant culture* in Roman Italy and how did these characteristics change from Republic to Principate? The top élite of Northwest Italy may have followed the model set by Roman senators and the *princeps* (e.g. *mores maiorum*; *humanitas*). Certain features, like the imperial cult, would have also been re-enacted and performed in public, thus engaging a large *populus*. But in order to understand the identities of the subaltern classes, we have to consider developments like (14) *bricolage* and (15) *creolisation*. All people in Roman Italy would have been inserted into an (16) *imperial discourse* which did not just marginalise the ‘conquered’ populations, but legitimised Roman rule as civilising savages and bringing them *humanitas*.

During the Augustan period this had become a very powerful (17) *ideological discourse* which was staged and materialised in architecture, literature and people’s actions. This could provide important motivating factors to guide people’s behaviour to various degrees, notably for the élite, to such an extent that cultural choices became more restricted. At the same time, the growing interaction across Italy and the empire also created some form of cosmopolitan or (18) *global culture* with a repertoire of symbols, values and cultural models within which people across all social strata negotiated their identities in the Roman world. In this way, the individual used cultural elements that were at hand, but each individual and community still presented itself in its own particular way, leading to forms of bricolage and *glocalisation*. Finally, (19) we also need an understanding of how social and cultural structures get reproduced and how the social agent can change them.

There is a growing body of studies that show the complexities of imperial situations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries AD. Many old anthropological studies on the ‘white man’ landing in a newly discovered land, thus initiating acculturation processes, have an inherent ethnocentric and racist bias which we must discard (cf. already critique by Herskovits 1938). In a post-colonial perspective, studies focus on the ‘indigenous’ or ‘colonised’ and their discrepant experience of imperialism and colonial discourses: how do people express subaltern forms of resistance, forge new local identities and create new hybrid or creole identities (cf. Ashcroft *et al.* 2009). Studies on modern societies cannot provide a one-to-one model for the Roman period, but they provide food for thought to rethink our own methodologies. In our study, we have to combine sociology and societal anthropology with cultural anthropology since societal and cultural features are interdependent. Societal patterns shape cultural expressions and symbols, but in turn cultural models also guide people’s behaviour; in this respect, *sociocultural* change is used as shorthand.

1.2 ADOPTIONS AND ADAPTATIONS IN AN ASYMMETRIC CONTACT SITUATION

This wood, together with the produce of their cattle, hides, and honey, they (i.e. the ‘Ligurians’) transport to the mart of Genoa, receiving in exchange for them the oil and wine of Italy.

(Strabo 4.6)

Strabo’s statement on the purchase of Italic commodities by Ligurians raises a number of important issues that we will need to analyse in order to understand how Italo-Roman and Mediterranean objects ‘diffused’ across Northwest Italy. For example, we have to comprehend how exchange patterns changed over the course of time (Chapter 2). From the archaeological record, the exchange between Central and Northwest Italy seems asymmetrical during the Republic since we hardly find any local artefacts (La Tène, Ligurian) on the Italian peninsula. While the remains of Italic amphorae allow us to trace the Italo-Roman imports in Liguria, the Ligurian products mentioned by Strabo—wood, honey, hides and cattle, together with *electrum* and Ligurian horses (Strabo 4.6)—do not leave many archaeological traces. Considering the gradual urbanisation of Liguria from the third to first century BC, we might have expected Strabo—writing largely under Tiberius—to mention more artisan products besides Ligurian tunics and cloaks (*saga*) (Strabo 4.6).

But perhaps we should attribute this to Strabo’s perceptions of the Ligurians, or rather the Greco-Roman construction of Ligurians. In this

respect, Strabo also used obsolete information for his account of Liguria: he states that Polybius mentioned the *ethnoi* Oxybi and Deciates that had probably disappeared by Strabo's time (cf. Haeussler forthcoming). Having been redefined as *regio IX Liguria* under Augustus, Liguria consisted of a dense network of *fora*, *conciliabula*, *coloniae* and *municipia* whose inhabitants had all been granted Roman citizenship between 90 and 49 BC. But Strabo considered only the 'Ligurians' along the sea to be 'Italians', 'Ἰταλῶταις' (not 'Romans'! If Strabo merely referred to the status of Latin rights, [*ius Latii*], between 89 and 49 BC, this would have been anachronistic), while those in the mountains are said to be 'wholly barbarous' (Strabo 4.6.4).

Strabo's focus on Genoa as a vital exchange hub for Northwest Italy largely correlates with the archaeological record between the sixth and the early first centuries BC. As we shall analyse in Chapter 2, the unmatched concentration of finds along the road from Genoa via the Passo dei Giovi to Libarna and Dertona may not only suggest that exchange was very restricted, but it may also have been controlled by local people along the route. Artefact distribution also suggests that this trade route went beyond Liguria and continued along the river Ticino to the Simplon Valley to the detriment of alternative routes. This long-distance trade axis hardly changed throughout the Iron Age, although we would have expected North Italy to be equally overwhelmed with Italo-Roman traders after the Roman conquest, comparable to Cicero's allusion to Southern Gaul being flooded by Roman merchants (*Font.* 5).

It is possible that this long-distance trade route from Genoa to the Simplon pass was not only controlled by local élites—perhaps in a down-the-line exchange by which a recipient keeps a proportion of the goods and passes the rest on (cf. Heichelheim 1938, 94; Lund Hansen 1987, 192–3; Darvill 2003, 125), but perhaps also institutionalised by social and religious structures that were developed over many centuries. Did people attribute a specific meaning to this small range of imported objects, and was economic control clouded in mythical relationships? In this respect, the well-known Melanesian 'Kula Ring' of Papua New Guinea reminds us how different socioeconomic systems can be from our own perceptions of trade. The Kula Ring is an intertribal exchange system whereby exchange is public and highly ritualised, creating permanent relationships between exchange parties. Exchange routes are clearly defined and there is a religious basis as exchange is embedded in myth and ritual practices, whereby the main value of the traded objects was their sacredness (cf. Malinowski 1922; Mauss 1990; Lombard 2008, 123).

Of course we can neither prove nor disprove any comparable conceptions for the trade across the Apennines and the Alps, but Hercules' mythical passage across the Alps, mentioned by Greco-Roman authors, could also

indicate that control over trade was obscured in religio-mythical terms. For the sixth through fifth centuries BC, Casini (2000) has suggested that Transalpine trade was also embedded in a form of matrimonial exchange with Cisalpine women being married to Transalpine aristocrats in order to consolidate transalpine trade relations (and to some extent, trade relations with the Etruscan-dominated Po Valley). This would lead us to Lévi-Strauss's concept of exogamy, i.e. marrying outside one's community to build alliances with other groups. This is a very interesting hypothesis, but it is mainly based on finds of brooches and ornaments in Switzerland and the Po Valley that were part of Golasecca female costumes. It is also under the assumption that Golasecca brooches were not exchanged, but that women actually moved out of the 'Golasecca' area.

In a premonetised economy, exchange was generally based on forms of reciprocity (*v. infra*). In this respect, the prestige-goods economy model (Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978, cf. e.g. critique by Gilissen 2003; Marcoux 2007) and comparable anthropological studies provide food for thought to understand the possible rôles of imported goods in the indigenous societies. Imports were probably vital for social transactions within a community or kinship group and with neighbouring communities: the exchange served to create alliances and allegiances when gift-giving was considered a mutual obligation (Mauss 1990: 'do et des', 'I give that you might give'; cf. Lombard 2008, 118–149). Whatever the objects' origins (i.e. a Roman origin does not seem important, but their rarity and function does), they were used within the mechanisms of the indigenous society, which may explain why we find such artefacts above all in ostentatious burials and only rarely in settlements. It is probably less a question of accumulating wealth, but one motivated by concepts of social status and prestige to the extent of maintaining and consolidating existing social hierarchies and allegiances (cf. Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978). With trade being embedded in sociocultural and perhaps even pseudo-mythical structures, people's selection of artefacts can be expected to be highly meaningful within local societies; they might have had intrinsic values for the 'indigenous' population which escape us. As a result, there might have been a certain reluctance to change. This may explain the enormous continuity of exchange patterns in Northwest Italy throughout the Iron Age, and this makes the sociocultural 'rupture' in the second half of the first century BC even more significant, as we shall see in Chapter 2.

In modern encounters, many 'colonised' communities seem to find it relatively easy to integrate into (or profit from) the conqueror's economic system (Wachtel 1986). But despite all sociocultural continuity, there may be a number of economic consequences, like a gradual change

from subsistence economy to surplus production. Originally this may have been prompted by the local *élites*' demands for luxury products, but accessibility to such 'imports' seems to have increased significantly from c. 100 BC with more and more people in Northwest Italy being able to display their status and wealth. This may have instigated a process of emulation (cf. Chapter 5.6), with *élites* searching for new and more elaborate media and status symbols to display and consolidate their status. In this respect, it is also possible that some 150 years after the Roman conquest, the products exchanged by Strabo's Ligurians in Genoa already mirrored a certain 'market-orientated' production. By comparison, a recent study has shown how some Batavian farmers moved from subsistence economy to surplus production. Groot (2008) suggests that after having 'experimented' for several generations, they came to specialise in horse breeding for sale in Nijmegen and to the Roman army. Yet, the same rural community, having abandoned subsistence production, had to import other essential items, such as clothing, from Gaul. Similarly in Northwest Italy, it might also have been local farmers and communities (and not the *élites*) who tried to increase their surplus by selling their produce at a market town. Besides the increasing establishment of market places (*coloniae*, *fora*, *conciliabula*), there may have been other exogenous factors. The rural population might also have been pressured into producing a surplus, for example by taxation (cf. study by Keay 1992, figures 1–3 on Republican Spain), payments of rent and monetisation. The case of the *sententia Minuciorum* from 117 BC shows how one of Rome's 'arbitrations' forced some 'Ligurians' to pay rent to Genoa (*v. infra*). As we shall see in Chapter 2, only around the turn-of-the-eras did exchange patterns in Northwest Italy change significantly when products from all over the empire—e.g. wine from Spain and Samian ware from Southern Gaul—were imported to even remote sites of Liguria and the Transpadana, suggesting a profound transformation of the economic landscape which raises the question of possible societal and cultural consequences.

Strabo's Ligurians coming to Genoa to exchange their goods provides the ideal setting of a contact zone in a classical 'acculturation' scenario where 'groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups' (Redfield *et al.* 1936). The Ligurians do not only exchange goods, but also ideas. Market places like Genoa and the numerous *fora*, *conciliabula* and *coloniae* that were founded in Liguria and the Transpadana after 125 BC provided important venues for cross-cultural contact situations. Though such *interactions*—i.e. the mutual contacts of individuals by communication, trade, work and migration—were accelerated by the extent of migration

(colonisation, rural exodus, army/legions) and of course by the acquisition of Roman citizenship. In such a contact situation, the ‘natives’ might learn another language, like Latin, learn about other cultural values, lifestyle, religious beliefs, funerary practices and much more.

But this is not a unilateral process of learning the culture and values of one’s economic partners or conquerors. We should not neglect the creative aspects that come out of such an asymmetric culture contact or ‘culture clash’. One result is the development of new local cultural expressions that take up substance from autochthonous cultures (Ligurian, Golasecca and Cisalpine La Tène), Transalpine La Tène and Mediterranean cultures (Italic, Roman, Etruscan, Greek). For example, in Hellenistic and Republican times, the choices of foreign traits were not only very diverse from region to region, but adoptions were also adapted to suit indigenous cognitions, creating new ‘creole’ or ‘hybrid’ forms (for creolisation and hybridisation, *v. infra*). Examples include the changes to the Etruscan alphabet to write a Celtic language, creating the so-called Lugano alphabet and Lepontic epigraphy, or the choice of the Marseille drachma as prototype for North Italy’s Padane drachma in the third century BC—a coinage that acquired more and more ‘Celtic’ characteristics in a nominally Roman period (cf. Chapter 2.3). For many of these seemingly ‘arbitrary’ adoptions, there must have been a certain rationale behind them which often escapes us.

We also have to think about the locals’ choices of imports: does Strabo’s mentioning of wine and oil reflect local aspirations to a Mediterranean or Italo-Roman lifestyle? To put it bluntly: does wine indicate a Roman symposium and oil Roman cuisine? Or was wine used in Celtic-style feasting (cf. feasting enclosures in Gaul: e.g. Brunaux 2000; Poux 2005; cf. Craven 2007 for Iron Age feasting and the Mediterranean symposium), while oil was used for oil lamps, i.e. merely a technical adoption in the late Iron Age? Between the second and first century BC, the relatively limited number of imported artefacts that is attested in Northwest Italy is frequently considered to be an important ‘indicator’ of ‘Romanisation’ (e.g. Frontini and Grassi (eds) 1998; Feugère *et al.* 1998, 299–301; *contra* Haeussler 2008a); besides amphorae, we are mainly dealing with Campanian black-glaze ware (*vernice nera*), whose social and cultural significance needs to be reassessed. Rather than being a sign of *Romanitas* or of belonging to Italo-Roman society, we have to think about the possible intrinsic values of this rather limited range of archaeologically visible artefacts in the late Republic for the ‘indigenous’ population, especially when considering the continued importance of Transalpine contacts.

In modern colonial contact situations, anthropologists have observed discrepancies regarding the adoption of foreign traits: for example, luxury

goods, including wine, spread more easily (Thurnwald 1932; Wachtel 1986). If we compare this with Iron Age societies, then such prestige goods may have played a particular rôle in feasting. As prestige goods, they were used in social transactions and to display élite status though not as a sign of a particularly ‘Roman’ identity or lifestyle; the allegedly unlimited consumption of (undiluted) wine clearly contradicted Greco-Roman conventions (Kistler 2009). Wachtel (1986) already remarked that indigenous people in modern contact situations can ‘integrate’ relatively easily into the colonists’ exchange mechanisms—just like the Ligurians in Genoa—or adopt technical innovations, like the potter’s wheel. But even in such cases we ought to seek out even subtle societal changes as a result. On the other hand, using the conquerors’ languages or adopting their signs of status and their clothing is thought to take much longer in a colonial encounter (Wachtel 1986)—and even more so in Republican Northwest Italy.

In our study, we need not only to investigate discrepant chronologies and geographies of change, but we also aim for a comprehension of the various reasons behind people’s adoptions. For example: are there constraints that limit the free choice of an individual? As we shall see in Chapter 2, adoptions of ‘alien’ traits do not seem to have been an accident. They must have been meaningful to people at a specific time and location, having consequences for people’s cultural understandings. For example, the import of Italo-Roman luxury objects generally predated changes in everyday objects. Changes in onomastics and spoken language predated the use of Latin on public inscriptions. Local adoptions and adaptations of funerary practices originating from peninsular Italy can only be observed during the first century BC, while local practices and artefacts continued to persist and must therefore still remain meaningful. In this respect, the various forms of indigenous dress—and female dress in particular—appear to have been a very conservative item as dress reflects adherence to a social group in the local society (for anthropological perspectives of dress, cf. e.g. Tranberg Hansen 2004). This is particularly the case in a funerary context when a community attempts to reinforce collective values and traditions and we therefore need to study carefully minute changes in grave good assemblages, rituals and tomb constructions (for the conservatism of funerary rituals, cf. Haeussler 2008a).

Although a collective or social group might attempt to propagate or promote certain cultural norms for its members, at the end it is up to the individual who has to be convinced to use ‘alien’ or ‘unfamiliar’ artefacts, behaviour, values and practices, some of which probably contradicted the person’s ‘traditional’ cognitions. We therefore cannot even assume that there was anything like an ‘élite identity’ or ‘élite

lifestyle’—not even within one region, tribe or municipality. Each ‘noble’ was negotiating his/her identity, attempting to display and reassert his/her social standing both vertically and horizontally, i.e. not just vis-à-vis the subaltern classes, but also in contact and in competition with other élites. We must also distinguish between public display and private lifestyle, while expectations of élite behaviour might follow *exempla* of other élites—or the princeps—during the Roman period. As it was not the society as a whole that selected alien objects or traits, but individuals, it is consequently the individual’s choices that theoretically could have had an incalculable impact on indigenous cognitive patterns. Sahlin’s (1985) study of the Pacific Islands shows how cultures can be historically altered by symbolic actions and in his ‘*How Natives Think?*’ he focuses our attention on rationalities other than our own (also cf. Wachtel’s 1977 *La vision des vaincus*). In our case, the rationales and values of ‘natives’ and ‘Romans’ could have been very different from each other and different from ours. The study of sociocultural change in Cisalpine Gaul is therefore also about the ways people’s rationales, their motivational factors and symbolic languages changed between the third century BC and the Principate.

The adoption of an alien feature might not have had any profound immediate impact, but in the long-term there could have been consequences for people’s behaviour and their cultural understandings. Already in his *Psychology of Acculturation*, Thurnwald (1932, 557–69) noticed that ‘the acquisition of any civilizational accomplishment is not limited to the act of accepting (. . .) An event only sets in motion the socio-psychological process (. . .) [which] implies a change in attitudes, social behaviour, or even in the institutions of the receiving society (. . .)’ (on Thurnwald’s work, cf. Probst 2007). In other words, many adoptions might only have an impact for the behaviour and cultural understandings in the near or distant future. If we look at religious change, for example, then the adoption of a Latin theonym or a Greco-Roman anthropomorphic representation for a local (indigenous) deity in Cisalpine Gaul may just have been the personal choice of one individual who made an offering in an existing sanctuary. In this way, an individual act might have created Romano-Celtic double names, like Jupiter Poeninus and Apollo Belenos (cf. Chapter 5.5). But in the long run, such choices would have changed people’s perception of a cult: the local deity might have taken up more and more characteristics and functions from his/her Greco-Roman counterpart, perhaps even changing the religious institutions. Similarly architectural changes, like the construction of a podium temple and altar in a colonnaded sanctuary, may have initiated new behaviour by providing a new setting within which people had to act (cf. Haeussler 2007b). But certainly in religious change, it is important to notice that we cannot talk

about *religious Romanisation*, but instead new hybridisms and syncretisms developed, new cults, religious understandings and cult practices that were neither ‘Roman’ nor ‘Celtic’ (cf. Webster 2001; Haeussler 2007b; 2008a).

Interaction and *adoption* may appear as rather basic technical terms, but they have led us to discuss a number of important issues to understand the spread of artefacts and practices across Northwest Italy. It is important to comprehend that interaction and adoption are hardly arbitrary as they result from the changing contact situations in which people of different ‘cultures’ meet, exchange goods and ideas, learn new languages and adopt new cultural symbols. In pre-Roman times, contact was primarily between Italo-Roman merchants and far-away ‘natives’; in the second and early first centuries BC it was between Roman ‘conquerors’ and ‘conquered’, which, in a period without major colonial deductions in Northwest Italy, created rather remote contact situations. At the same time, the lack of participation and integration and the legal exclusion from Roman citizenship down to the early first century BC (*v. infra*) must have been one of the reasons why adoptions appear relatively ‘arbitrary’ and perhaps even ‘experimental’ since Rome did not represent a guiding force as long as local people were more concerned with preserving their status and local hierarchies which were threatened by Roman rule.

When talking about *adoption*, we have to go beyond traditional concepts like ‘diffusionism’ (for which see Kroeber 1940; Titiev 1959, 446; Winthrop 1991, 82). We should jettison the idea of a ‘(trans-cultural) diffusion’ of ‘civilisatory’ aspects from Rome to Cisalpine Gaul, i.e. from a civilisatory centre to a less-developed periphery, as this model implies that people in Northwest Italy were not equally capable of innovation, merely copying the Romans. Instead, we need to understand why some artefacts or cultural features spread, while others did not, and how artefacts were assigned new uses and meaning. Especially in an asymmetrical contact situation, ‘culture shock’ can be very creative, leading to new forms of hybrid cultural expressions that take up substance from both local (native) and incoming (Roman) cultures, similar to creolisation (cf. Webster 2001; Ashcroft *et al.* 2009, 51–2). We therefore have to analyse the potential and the real significance of material changes for society and culture: how significant are changes in the archaeological record and what long-term effect did alien traits have on local societies and cultures in Liguria and the Transpadana?

And unlike diffusionist models, we also need to take into account endogenous development as sociocultural change is not all down to exogenous factors. As we shall see in Chapter 2, some developments had already started long before the Roman conquest. After the conquest, new

structures developed to which the indigenous population had to adapt or resist to, but this may merely have realigned already existing societal processes. We have to go beyond the traditional acculturation models, since the twentieth-century distinction between ‘colonisers’ and ‘colonised/natives’ is unsuitable for the Roman empire. We are not dealing with two more or less *segregated* societies or cultures in a cross-cultural contact situation whose outcomes appear accidental and unpredictable, like Sahlins’ Captain Cook in the Pacific Islands (Sahlins 1985). Instead there is a multitude of communities and individuals who were becoming mutually interdependent through time, with individuals socially and economically profiting from an increasingly unified Italy, participating in Italy-wide and empire-wide economic structures and in social structures focused on Rome, e.g. through patronage and Roman politics (cf. Chapter 5.2). These structures involved people in a discourse that influenced their cultural cognitions and may have limited people’s freedom of choice. In what follows we need to investigate issues of social and economic integration in Roman Italy, the rôle of Rome and her élites as trendsetter, and how people made cultural choices in an increasingly interactive and interdependent ‘global’ society.

1.3 INTEGRATING THE ‘PERIPHERY’ AND ITS PEOPLE

An parum quod Veneti et Insubres curiam inruperint (. . .)

Is it a small thing that Veneti and Insubres have already burst into the Senate-house (. . .)

(Tacitus, *Annals* 11.23.3)

As Tacitus reminds us, indigenous élites from the Transpadana acquired an important share of power by entering Rome’s highest social order. The number of Roman senators from Northwest Italy is indeed staggering, especially for the Insubres, once Rome’s fiercest enemy (Alföldy 1982). But integration was not limited to the top élite. In the Principate, a substantial part of the population lived in Roman-style towns, many profited from the economic opportunities, some joined the Roman legions, acquired a local magistracy or priesthood, became clients to a local *patronus*, member of an urban guild, and so on. This listing already shows that integration was working simultaneously at different levels of society, depending on locality, time, people’s status and profession as well as their aspirations. We have to ask what motivated the conquered population in Northwest Italy to integrate into these Roman structures and whether they had any alternative.

One might imagine that the countryside would provide the most likely setting for ‘native persistence’. Did rural dwellers live in conditions virtually unchanged since pre-Roman times, while only the élite adopted a Roman lifestyle, as suggested for example by Terrenato (1998a–b) for Etruria? But even in Northwest Italy, we witness systematic land redistribution by centuriation and an increasing concentration of properties in the hands of a few powerful landowners. This suggests that even the rural population was forced to integrate into the strongly hierarchised society of the early Principate. Many people might have become tenants or struggled to survive as day labourers. In the region of Canavese near Turin we can study rural communities being confronted with systematic centuriation and the introduction of Roman concepts of private property (*v. infra*, Chapter 5.6). There are also some important premises that facilitated people’s integration, above all Latin rights and the grants of Roman citizenship to Cispadana and Transpadana between 90 and 49 BC. At the same time, we must take account of Rome’s increasing capacity to integrate its non-Roman, non-Latin and non-Italic ‘allies’ into Roman citizenship—an ability that was changing during the late Republic with the Social War as an important turning point (cf. Mouritsen 1998, who does perhaps undervalue the advantages of the citizenship grant for the *socii*).

This situation goes far beyond the colonial encounters between the sixteenth and the twentieth centuries AD. Even when the conquerors acquired ‘complete control’, creating both economic domination and the establishment of a ‘dominant culture’ (Wachtel 1986), the level of participation of ‘natives’ in the Roman state, notably people’s integration and enfranchisement, provided a fundamentally different scenario. Through time, it was less an opposition between ‘Roman’ and ‘indigenous’, but between a very small top élite of various ethnic origins and a vast urban and rural ‘plebs’. This is not to deny that Rome also exploited the conquered populations and marginalised them after the conquest, inserting them in an imperial discourse, imposing fiscal, economic and political structures to which people had to adapt (*v. infra*). But by accepting ‘conquered’ people into her ‘friendship’ and making them allies, by granting them privileges and even citizenship, Rome increasingly offered incentives for collaboration and participation that would facilitate integration.

As a result, we can postulate a direct link between integration (i.e. acting and adapting within the structures defined by the Roman state and belonging to a certain social group, e.g. senators, equestrians, *decuriones*, freedmen, etc.) and changes to people’s behaviour and cultural patterns. For the people who participated in these social groups, certain artefacts may have acquired ‘meaning’ as symbols of power and status,

but people may also have adopted, displayed and perhaps internalised ‘Roman’ ideas and values. In this way, we move on from merely economic interactions to various forms of social integration and participation. Economy may provide a basis for interaction, but other factors appear more important if we want to understand societal and cultural changes in Roman Italy. At the same time, the spontaneity of cultural adoptions might get lost once people’s participation in Italy-wide economic, social and political structures had reached a certain level that generated increasing interaction and interdependency as well as knowledge of the symbols and the lifestyle of the ‘ruling classes’. This is why we need to understand forms of societal integration and their cultural implications.

Centre and Periphery

Cisalpine Gaul was not simply a ‘Roman dominion’, as Mattingly (2006) suggested for Britain. Indeed, it only seems to have been a ‘province’ in its territorial and administrative sense for a few decades in the first century BC (cf. Chapter 4.2). Instead we have to evaluate how Roman imperialism changed over time and how people experienced it. What are the potential and the ‘real’ impacts of Roman imperialism (Chapter 3)? The conquest did initiate certain forms of political, economic and social dependency between Rome and Northwest Italy. These relationships evolved over time, getting more and more intense, with people devising different strategies for adapting to them. To explain this kind of dependency between Rome and its ‘dominions’, the core-periphery model has often been applied, but as we shall see, a simple binary relationship (core/periphery, conqueror/conquered, Romans/barbarians) is too simplistic and does not allow for the complexity of human interaction that occurred in Northwest Italy. This model was intended to recognise the specific context of sociopolitical relationships in which ‘real historical actors operated’ (Champion 1989, 9) and one would expect a process of cultural replication from the centre to the periphery (cf. e.g. Haselgrove 1987; MacMullen 2004). For Republican Italy, Torelli (e.g. 1995, 9, 14, 27, 196f; 1999) applied the centre-periphery model by dividing Italy into different cultural zones, depending on settlement pattern and cultural development. For the non-urban Samnite area, Torelli assumed that Rome would have had an ‘evidentissima funzione di guida’, for example in the introduction of new architectonic forms (1982, 243; *contra* Stek 2009). However, the case of the Samnite theatre-sanctuary at Pietrabbondante reflects what Morel (1991) called a ‘romanisation à l’envers’ as it was constructed in a remote rural location long before Rome acquired its first theatre in stone.

The centre-periphery model does not seem wholly appropriate to explain sociocultural change in the Roman period. Being based on Wallerstein's world economy system (1974, 1979), it focuses our attention on economic dependencies and 'conscious economic motivation' which is an anachronism (cf. Kohl 1986, McGuire 1989; Millett 1990, 7; 1–35; Woolf 1990a, 44–58; for a downgrading of centre-periphery as diffusionism, cf. Renfrew 1986, 6). As we have seen above, we also have to consider the possibility of alternative economic perceptions—both among the Romans and the 'natives'—and it is unlikely that people thought like in modern Western societies and were equally motivated by profit. The centre-periphery model therefore creates false economic dependencies between Rome and Cisalpine Gaul that are inappropriate to explain cultural changes. Such a model does not solve the complex relationships between Roman imperialism, the local communities and the multitude of local actors that were motivated and stimulated not just to adopt their economic production, but also to change their lifestyles, behaviours, aspirations and cultural identities.

Instead we can turn the centre-periphery model upside down (Haeussler 2000; 2007a). Looking at the archaeological evidence, Rome appears to have been at the 'periphery'—both economically and culturally—for the people in Northwest Italy for many generations after the Roman conquest down to the first century BC. Still for Strabo's Ligurians trading in Genoa, acquiring wine for banqueting or selling to make a profit might have been their main interest, while Rome could have been marginal in shaping people's behaviour and cultural understandings. Should we not ask instead, why, when and in which context people started to adopt certain features of Greco-Roman propositions? When did people start to look to Rome and the *exempla* set by Roman élites? And why? If we take the example of Augustus's cultural revolution, which has been one theme used to explain the profound cultural changes across the Roman West in the late first century BC and the first century AD (Woolf 2001a), then the question arises as to why such a 'revolution' in Rome should be of any interest for people in Liguria or the Transpadana? After all, those people had their own symbols of power, rules of conduct, dress, architecture and lifestyles. And as long as these societies continued to 'function' and the careful societal, economic and cultural balance persisted, these local societies, still embedded in local Iron Age cultures in the first century BC, can be expected to have survived with only minor adaptations. In other words, we need to consider additional factors that made developments in Rome relevant for the local populations in Northwest Italy who used to orientate themselves towards other 'centres', like Mediolanum and Genoa (for the concept of 'several different cores' cf. e.g. Mesoamerican prehistory: McGuire 1989, 44).

State-formation and Integration

The relationship between Rome and Northwest Italy was changing significantly in the 200 years after the conquest. The large number of senators from Northwest Italy from Caesar onwards shows the extent of integration, at least at the élite level. Instead of a bipolar centre-periphery model with Rome at the centre and a North Italian periphery, we need to consider the multitude of possible actions by individuals and groups to adapt not only to economic changes, but to important societal developments that made integration possible—to such an extent that Cisalpine Gaul was considered part of *tota Italia* in Octavian's times.

A key factor to understand change in Northwest Italy are a number of societal developments that also had consequences for people's 'culture', such as state-formation processes. It seems that many of the pre-Roman *ethnoi* or polities cannot be described as 'states' in a sociological or anthropological sense, especially in the Ligurian Apennines, where terms like 'tribe' or 'chiefdom' society, probably without clear territorial definition, seem more appropriate (cf. Haeussler 2000; 2007a). Understanding societal patterns at the eve of the conquest is therefore not only important to comprehend the asymmetric contact situations, but state-formation processes also had an important impact on cultural changes. For example, when local societies acquired state-like characteristics, such as a territory with defined frontiers, central place, perhaps elected magistrates and a territorially defined *populus*, then there would also be new symbols of power to propagate the coherence of the state and its identity. This may explain the rôle of local epigraphy and coinage systems in Cisalpine Gaul in the third to first century BC (cf. Chapters 2.3, 2.6). Such a process may also lead to the partial break-up of societal structures and perhaps some form of 'detribalisation' (*v. infra*). Although Rome initiated some developments, for example by founding colonies, we should not ignore existing endogenous processes of urbanisation and state-formation, notably in the cases of Vercellae, Mediolanum and Comum—processes that might have been catalysed or realigned in the Roman period.

As a result, local inhabitants and communities were faced with new social requirements and cultural propositions. For example, many people had to integrate into the urban communities that cropped up everywhere in Northwest Italy: besides adapting to new economic patterns, people were confronted with a new lifestyle and new forms of social relations. Modern sociological studies have shown the profound psychological effects of urban living on the individual (cf. e.g. Andersen and Taylor 2010, 425). Simmel (1903), for example, highlights the quick pace and stimulating effect of an urban centre: even the small Cisalpine towns in

the late first century BC had *fora* and theatres to promote new ideas, new culture and new forms of recreation. Wirth's (1938) observations that 'urban dwellers' can experience alienation, loneliness and powerlessness may apply less to a small-scale Roman town with some 10,000–20,000 inhabitants, but we should consider that many people in Northwest Italy were affected by migration, sometimes over a substantial distance, resulting in the splitting up of family and kinship groups. But urban life can also have a liberating effect—a feeling of freedom (Wirth 1938). In this respect, the towns in Northwest Italy, with their ethnically diverse populations, provided a new setting for people to act in, more freedom of choice compared to rural contexts, different career options, activities and entertainment as well as investments and private business. The town also allowed people to by-pass pre-existing hierarchies, like dependencies between tenant and landlord.

But there were also more and more super-structures that influenced people's lives—institutions that were beyond the control of local people, such as 'market economy', legal structures, municipalisation, Roman governors and the Roman army. These structures became increasingly intrusive and compelling for local people. In this respect, the integration of indigenous people into the social, political and economic structures of the Roman state potentially had enormous consequences for the local societies. Here, Norbert Elias's sociological work provides some interesting features on how people (Elias' 'tribes') might have been integrated in 'higher levels' of organisation (Elias 1974; cf. Slofstra 1983, 71–104). Though his difference between tribe and state is not as marked in the Roman Republic, for many of his observations we can also find Roman parallels, some of which only developed in the Principate, showing how Roman imperialism could affect local people.

Elias reminds us of important societal developments, but we should not take them as general rules. We need to put them into a Roman context and also consider possible cultural implications. In his first observation, Elias argues that the integration of a 'tribe' into a 'state' causes the importance of traditional bondings to decrease in the local community while the importance of external bondings is increasing. For pre-Roman Northwest Italy, we can only speculate on the importance of clan, kinship, clientage, servitude and debt-bondage, features that might have held together the 'tribal structure' prior to municipalisation in the first century BC. Polybius (2.17), for example, said that 'the man who had the largest number of clients or companions in his wanderings, was looked upon as the most formidable and powerful member of the tribe'. For Transalpine Gaul, Caesar (*BG* 6.13) spoke of the slave-like status of the common people there. But having been enfranchised in 90/49 BC, some locals became wealthy merchants, craftsmen and freedmen, perhaps

operating empire-wide, while others made a career in the legions and praetorian guards, became priests of the imperial cult, moved to Rome or the provinces, or even aspired for Roman-style magistracies and equestrian or senatorial positions. The latter was of course subject to an assessment by the Roman censors so that status became increasingly defined in sesterces and not the number of clients. It seems that many people of various social statuses were able to by-pass local hierarchies and acquire status outside their own community, like veteran soldiers acquiring local magistracies. Army and migration might have become important means for upward social mobility as they allowed people to escape the bondings and restraints of existing small-scale communities. This might have been necessary as it provided a ‘means of circumventing the serious restrictions on upward mobility (. . .)’ necessary in a community which holds that ‘socioeconomic improvement within the community occurs at the expense of others’, as suggested by sociological case-studies (Olwig 1993, 176–7 on the Afro-Caribbean community). The archaeological evidence from the late Iron Age does suggest that certain social restrictions on wealth and status displays were operational in Northwest Italy. This changed from c. 100 BC onwards when an unprecedented number of people displayed their status and wealth; the presence of *external* factors—*coloniae*, *fora* and the Roman army—could have provided opportunities to individuals who were submitted to a process of alienation from their own cultural traditions.

Elias also supposes that the increase in the power of the state reduces the authority and importance of the local élites. This is a complex issue in Roman Italy, notably because we need to redefine the concept of the Roman *state*, taking into account a more ‘personal’ make-up, for example through patronage structures (cf. Saller 1982; Wallace-Hadrill 1989). In Northwest Italy, a small number of élites exercised power by participating in the running of municipalities, but it is possible that *traditional* forms of power—such as clientage, vassalage or alliances of kinship groups—persisted on a small scale, such as in a rural context where élites could exercise their social, economic and religious authority over the rural population, by manipulating rural cults for example (cf. Haeussler 2008b). We also should not forget the importance of patronage structures in Roman society. *Patroni*—municipal and imperial élites—are a community’s legal representatives (Tacitus *Dial.* 3) and they control numerous social groups, like the *plebs urbana* and the various *collegia* (cf. Saller 1982; Drinkwater 1989; papers in Wallace-Hadrill 1989). Through conquest and colonisation, every community was already loosely assigned to individual Roman *nobiles* who acted as *patroni* (cf. *gens* of its alleged founder, the consul Fulvius Flaccus, at Hasta (CIL V 7573) and support for Pompeius and Caesar for having granted Latin rights and citizenship). Migration, the commodification

of social transactions (by monetisation) and the selling of property can significantly undermine these relationships during the Roman period. Across Italy, the increasing lack of statesmanship also caused local aristocrats to lose their political authority, making Rome's *socii* in Italy the 'losers' of the Social War 91–89 BC (if we follow the argumentation of Mouritsen 1998), with many retiring to their rural estates as their *regna* already in Cicero's time. The increasing lack of political authority was thus compensated by local aristocrats with an opulent lifestyle (cf. Meier 1995; Cic. *Att.* 14.16.1; Pliny *Ep.* 7.3.2).

As a consequence, élites might have had to develop or adopt new media of social control. At the same time, the Roman state intervened more and more in the affairs of local communities. The remaining local autonomy increasingly dwindled, notably when the accounts of local cities started to be supervised by *curatores rei publicae* or *kalendarii*. Furthermore, political decision-making shifted to higher levels of integration within the state (Elias 1974): Rome not only monopolised foreign policy, but also made decisions that affected its *socii*, as already in the case of the *senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* of 186 BC (CIL I² 581; Livy 34.8–18; cf. Pailler 1988). Within an enfranchised Italy after 90/49 BC, Rome could intervene even more openly, for example by monopolising the use of force. Levy and pay of the troops were increasingly organised by Rome (a process starting with Marius 107 BC and completed under Augustus), and as Roman citizens the locals joined the legions under a Roman commander, not as ethnically organised auxiliary units. Rome also controlled the locals' authority to speak law. The *lex de Gallia Cisalpina* (cf. Chapter 4.2) shows how Rome could unilaterally define the juridical authority of local magistrates in North Italian communities; at the same time, it also shows how the local people themselves made use of the Roman *praetor* as court of appeal with the aim to circumvent local authorities and local hierarchies.

Finally, Elias also focuses our attention on newly created institutions at 'higher levels of integration', such as the foundation of market places. Processes of production and distribution are therefore less determined by local requirements or the social rules of reciprocity and redistribution, while longer and more complex chains of interdependency developed, and the distance between producer and consumer grew. In this respect, local people—both in rural and urban contexts—made conscious decisions to specialise in specific agricultural products and to import everyday products (grain, textiles, pottery, etc.) from other regions. We have already mentioned the agricultural specialisation of Strabo's Ligurians and of the Batavians (*v. supra*) and there are of course the large 'monocultures' for wine and olive oil in Spain and Africa or the pottery production centres in Southern Gaul. This is a fundamentally different economic system compared to the Iron Age, not only in its growing

surplus production, but also its interdependencies among the various regions of Italy and the empire, certainly in the Principate. This also had societal consequences, like an increasing division of labour and differentiation of social functions which could be recognised most clearly in urban centres where specialised traders had required social status at a level not seen before (cf. Chapter 5.6). Even if the Romans did not have an economic policy, they did at least provide the basis for this economic development by founding market-places (*fora, coloniae*), building roads and improving river transport, introducing coinage and taxes, reducing (and in part abolishing) custom dues and, last but not least, by organising the *annona*—the organisation of grain production for Rome and the army.

We need to consider a number of often-simultaneous societal processes that take place in asymmetric contact situations, as in the barely urbanised Northwest. Of course, each individual and each local community developed its own strategies to adapt to the changes caused by these Roman ‘super-structures’ that—consciously or not—unbalanced existing socioeconomic patterns. With the functions of the local community and its institutions having decreased significantly and with people’s traditional status and livelihoods being threatened, local populations—and especially élites—would have tried to consolidate their status by finding alternative ways to assert their authority. The Mediterranean world provided countless cultural propositions to recreate one’s identity in the Roman empire, but with increasing integration and participation in this web of social and economic relations that spread across Italy, the individual might have had fewer and fewer alternatives on how to behave, act or express his/her identity.

Integration is no unidirectional process. Within any community, we can expect tensions between those people who lost power and those who gained power (Elias 1974). Nowhere is this more obvious than in Roman Italy when people were segregated by status unilaterally defined by Rome—as *peregrini* and Roman citizens. The Latin rights (cf. Chapter 2.5), which applied to much of Northwest Italy between 90 and 49 BC, further split up local communities into those few people who acquired the prestigious Roman citizenship and the majority who had not done so yet. In such a situation of mixed statuses, people could be expected to have displayed their prestigious statuses; and since statuses became permeable—and change of status was no longer in the hands of local élites—people might have had aspirations for social and economic advancement. In this respect, internal tensions between social ‘classes’ and gender groups—and among a social group—can also be very ‘creative’ (Andersen and Taylor 2010, 411) by initiating new developments when people look for new ways to consolidate and display their statuses. In contrast to Latin rights, the grant of Roman citizenship in the first century BC appears like

a forced integration into a common state: this was a privileged status, but Roman citizens were also obliged to follow Roman laws (cf. Harris 1972). With the whole of Italy having been enfranchised, it is probably no surprise that Augustus legislated what good conduct for Roman citizens was meant to be since the large number of new citizens could hardly be expected to know Roman *mores maiorum*. But in the end, it was up to the individual to take up the opportunities which Latin rights and Roman citizenship provided. There were consequently limitations to the cultural impact of citizenship and integration.

Integration and Urbanism

Legal status alone might not have been that effective. If the majority of people worked the land, living in small villages and farmsteads, the question arises whether Latin rights and Roman citizenship could have changed the lives of the many. In the context of predominantly non-urbanised communities in Northwest Italy, urbanisation and municipalisation must have been major factors for breaking up pre-existing hierarchies and social bondings, providing people with cultural diversity and integrating them in new social groups (e.g. *plebs*, *collegia* and *pagi*). We should not forget that Pompeius introduced Latin rights in 89 BC by specifically founding *coloniae* without a deduction of colonies in Cisalpine Gaul (cf. Chapter 2.5), thus creating Roman-style municipalities (the term *municipality* refers to all types regardless of legal status: *ciuitas*, *colonia* and *municipium*). The Romans not only privileged one site as the new central place (*caput ciuitatis*, *urbs* or *oppidum*) of a new ‘autonomous’ state, but they also defined the town’s *territorium* by attributing existing communities or ‘tribes’ to a specific municipality (cf. Chapters 2.5, 3.3). As a result, many small-scale communities lost their self-autonomy when decision-making and jurisprudence moved to new institutions, like the *ordo* which provided rules of conduct for local *patroni* and land-owners of diverse origin. Many local customs, rituals and group identities may have got lost, like those that resulted from membership in clan-structures, parentage, lineages and tribes. By threatening indigenous social structures, this kind of ‘detrribalisation’ might have accelerated people’s integration into the new municipalities. But was this ‘detrribalisation’ an active government policy and the reason why Pompeius founded his ‘pseudo-colonies’? Or was it merely a by-product of urbanisation? Modern case-studies remind us of the ambiguities of ‘detrribalisation’, like a study by Sichone (1998) on the Rhodesian Copperbelt where, in the view of the population, urbanisation resulted in detrribalisation. Although tensions between urban centres and non-urban tribal communities remained, and while some ancient rituals survived, tribes were reduced to social groups within an urbanised society so that the rôle of kinship groups and their

customs had lost much of their meaning. This should make us more cautious about our evidence: the persistence of some pre-Roman rituals, cults and artefacts need not imply that people were not integrated in the local municipality.

Compared to Iron Age societies, we are dealing with an increasing social stratification in Roman times. This has consequences for the ways the individual saw himself/herself. It could have made it increasingly difficult to create ‘a stable personal identity’ in a society that presents the individual with complex and conflicting choices about how to live (cf. Andersen and Taylor 2010, 451). Life in a ‘Roman town’ was more complex compared to Iron Age settlements since people of various ethnic, cultural and linguistic origins and status came together. In the Principate, urban life in Roman Italy with its social inequalities must have appeared relatively ‘modern’, providing a feeling of powerlessness to many of the subaltern inhabitants. Habermas also observed that people in such an environment might be more likely ‘than their less modernised peers’ to experiment with new religions, social movements and lifestyles in search of a fit with their conception of their own ‘true self’ (Habermas 1970; Andersen and Taylor 2010, 451). By contrast, in less ‘complex’ societies, people and communities may search for conformity (cf. Forest 1998, 244) by following the example set by the élite.

As we have seen, there were a number of factors that could have affected people’s lives in Northwest Italy. Many social and economic processes were—consciously or unconsciously—initiated, catalysed or shaped by Roman policies. Participating in socioeconomic patterns that go beyond the local community must have been an important motor for cultural change. People’s lifestyles and identities changed when they migrated, settled in different environments and became member of new social groups. People may have adopted appropriate conduct and expressed their group membership by dress and symbols of power. Integration can work at very different levels of society, but within Roman Italy there emerged a close web of personal bonds and economic interdependences that went beyond a single community or region—a process that was accelerated by block grants of Latin rights and Roman citizenship in the first century BC. But did everybody in this ‘unified Italy’ see himself/herself as Roman and adopt appropriate cultural norms?

1.4 NEGOTIATING IDENTITIES IN A GLOBAL WORLD

You have made the word ‘Roman’ apply not to a city but to a universal people.

(Aelius Aristides, *To Rome* 63 (translation Levin 1950; cf. Klein 1983))

In his panegyric *To Rome* (c. AD 150), Aelius Aristides (AD 117–181) made a very important observation: To be ‘Roman’ was no longer related to the city of Rome, but to a ‘universal people’ (γένουσι κοινόν)—empire-wide ‘upper classes’ unified by Roman citizenship (which Aristides’ family received in AD 123):

(. . .) the grandeur of your concept of citizenship. (. . .) For you have divided all the people of the Empire (. . .) in two classes: the more cultured, better born, and more influential everywhere you have declared Roman citizens and even of the same stock (. . .)

(Aelius Aristides, *To Rome* 59 (translation Levin 1950))

Taking into account that many Greeks continued to have mixed feelings towards the Roman empire (cf. Veyne 2005, 163–257; Fontanella 2008; Pernot 2008, 176–77) despite accepting and cooperating with Roman rule, Aristides did however stress a number of important points for the second century AD, like a range of common values among the ‘more cultured’ of the Roman empire. This reminds us of concepts like *humanitas* (‘culture’, ‘civilisation’) which we also find in other works (*v. infra*). Aelius Aristides also expressed a certain self-identification with Rome in his panegyric which raises the questions of personal and collective identities of Roman élites within the Roman empire. In Republican Italy, people seemed to associate themselves very early with Rome, like the Italian *negotiatores* on Delos who appropriated the term *Rhomaioi* to signal their identity in a Greek environment (e.g. IG V.1, 1432–3. 1146). Already Cicero stated in c. 50 BC that ‘everyone has two *patriae*, one of nature and one of citizenship’, and that ‘the *patria*, where the name of *res publica* is a marker of our common citizenship, stands first in our affection’ (*Leg.* 2.5). Here Cicero made the important distinction between legal status (citizenship) and one’s personal or ethnic identity. By participating in Roman politics and economy as well as military campaigns, a common consciousness was created—and perhaps even a self-identification with Rome, though primarily among the Roman, Latin and Italic aristocracies. In the late Republic this was not yet a Roman identity, but it may have led to one.

Cicero as *nouus homo* and Aelius Aristides as new Roman citizens appeared well-integrated in the Roman societies of their time. But how did such people see themselves, their personal internal self-characterisation and how did they present themselves in public? The external representation of the self (Alföldy’s (ed) 2001 *Selbstdarstellung*) is above all a cultural product. Individuals choose how to represent themselves by their conscious actions in art, epigraphy, onomastics or material culture aimed at the public. For Goffmann (1959, 45), the presentation of

the self in everyday life even assumes that all human actions inherently involve social aspects with the desire to give the impression that people want others to have of themselves, often an idealised version reflecting the perceived values of society. Aristeides probably had personal hesitations about Rome and, despite the advantages of citizenship, saw himself primarily as ‘Greek’. But just like other Greek élites with Roman citizenship from Asia Minor, self-identity depends on circumstances: depending on context, ‘Greeks’ might present themselves either as Roman citizens, as provincial Greeks or as Lydians or Cicilians, etc. (cf. Spawforth 2001, 375–400). Cicero by contrast chose appropriate behaviour for a senator, aspiring to the ideals of the Roman Republic and internalising the ancestral habits, the *mores maiorum*. This allowed him to play a seemingly important rôle in first-century BC politics, but he may have never been fully accepted as equal by contemporary *optimates*, i.e. an active integration may remain hollow and the display of ‘Romanness’ may merely have been wishful thinking.

But would it be possible to distinguish the different identities of people like Cicero and Aristeides in the archaeological record? The actions of many people across the Roman empire represent various aspects of their self-identity. For each person, his/her dress, name, language, dwelling, lifestyle, behaviour, values and much more is the result of a complex identity process; most importantly, the same person may act differently in different environments. In this respect, the development of a Roman-style urban centre provides a particularly complex setting for people’s behaviour (cf. Haeussler 1999). Not only did towns in Roman Italy provide a cultural melting pot, they also provided the individual with an unprecedented diversity of cultural models—a repertoire from which one could forge one’s own identity and one’s own lifestyle. But to some extent, people may have merely ‘responded’ to their environment by a conscious or subconscious process of enculturation. For example, if nobody wore Gallic breeches any more (*braccae*, βράκαι, cf. Polybios 2.28 for Insubres wearing ἀναξυρίδες), then there may have been social pressure to comply with the standard (breeches did however become a part of Roman army equipment: a case of bilateral cultural interaction). On the other hand, pre-Roman features, like native dress, could also have become relegated to signify an inferior status, perhaps for subaltern classes or rural inhabitants; but this should not be taken as cultural retardation or cultural resistance—a theme common in many post-colonial studies—since it is no longer the culture of the ‘colonisers’ in the Roman empire, but of an élite that distinguished itself from the subaltern ‘classes’.

Several questions arise. For example: did people consciously adopt Roman culture, perhaps in an attempt of ‘self-assimilation’? If so, who is doing it (only upper-class people?), and what motivated them to do so?

Here, we also have to constantly rethink how our definition of Roman culture was changing from one generation to the next. Besides the self-image of the Romans, we must ask whether people in Italy intentionally aspired to the culture of the city of Rome, like senatorial values, lifestyle and dress code. While this may have been largely a concern for the very few who aspired to the top rank of the Roman élite, the vast majority of people in Roman Italy negotiated their personal and collective identities within the repertoire of artefacts, dress, language code, education, behaviour and values that were locally available and the identities that were acted out by individuals and collectives in private and public, taking into account an enormous variety and diversity. This repertoire of cultural traits could have been used and manipulated to represent new local identities, for example those of craftsmen and traders in urban contexts, social groups that might not have existed as groups in late Iron Age Cisalpine Gaul (cf. Furedy 1979 for the selected use of imported Victorian artefacts by local craftsmen in British India to express a new ‘class identity’). As a consequence, we have to jettison the concept of ‘*Romanitas*’ or of a uniform Roman culture (cf. Woolf 1998, 54–60, 63–71; 2001a, 183). Instead, the increasing trans-cultural interaction and the restructuring of social hierarchies (e.g. empire-wide élites; people bound together by patronage links) created some kind of ‘cosmopolitan’ or ‘global’ cultural repertoire that provided a kind of symbolic ‘*koiné* language’ to communicate identities and status across the empire. Such a ‘repertoire’ became more meaningful when dealing with a unified Italy of Roman citizens. Previously, ‘Hellenism’ reinvigorated many local cultures in Republican Italy, but without ‘annihilating’ them (e.g. development of new techniques, arts and indigenous epigraphies). By contrast, developments in the first centuries BC/AD appear to have had a disastrous effect on indigenous cultures, to such an extent that we have to seek out the remaining traces of Iron Age cultures. Some local features persisted either as lower-class material culture (e.g. coarse-ware pottery) or they became adapted to the *zeitgeist* of the Principate. But did integration and enfranchisement merely pressure local people to ‘voluntarily’ adopt the ‘dominant’ culture of the conquerors?

‘Forced Assimilation’

It is often assumed that the Romans did not endeavour to ‘Romanise’ the conquered populations. Instead, many of the Roman policies, like municipalisation, urbanism, taxation and levy for military campaigns, are believed to have had intended and unintended consequences that catalysed the integration of conquered people into the Roman state. But after so many generations of Roman expansion since the conquest

of Veii 396 BC, perhaps this ‘integration’ was no longer an accidental by-product of Roman imperialism. Besides Rome’s calculated decisions on where to build roads and found colonies, there are also some rare instances in our literary sources that show that the Romans theoretically had the capacity to force Roman culture on their subjects. Strabo’s work (c. AD 7–24) already highlights a way of thinking of how ‘uncivilised natives’ could become Romans by adopting Roman lifestyle and language:

The Turdetani (. . .) their manners are polished and urbane (. . .). The Turdetani (. . .) have so entirely adopted the Roman way of life, as even to have forgotten their own language. They (the Turdetani) have for the most part become Latins, and received Roman colonists; so that a short time only is wanted before they will be all Romans. (. . .) Those of the Iberians who adopt these new modes of life are styled *togati*. Amongst their number are the Keltiberians, who formerly were regarded as the most uncivilized of them all.

(Strabo 3.2.15)

An active policy is attested for certain Roman generals who ‘encouraged’ the natives to adopt Roman values and Roman lifestyle, notably Sertorius during the Spanish revolt (80–72 BC, cf. Konrad 1994; Meister 2007) and Agricola in Britain (AD 77–85). Both focused on educating the future élites: ‘Moreover he [Agricola] began to train the sons of the chieftains in a liberal education . . .’ (Tac. *Agr.* 21). Plutarch’s reports on Sertorius is more detailed:

(The boys) of highest birth (. . .) he collected together from various peoples, at Osca, a large city, and set over them teachers of Greek and Roman learning; thus in reality he made hostages of them, while ostensibly he was educating them, with the assurance that when they became men he would give them a share in administration and authority (. . .).

(Plut. *Sert.* 14)

Plutarch’s description resembles rather closely modern colonial policies aimed at developing a native élite ‘who could be left in charge of the colony’ (Rowlands 1989, 266, 276 on German policies towards African indigenous people, c. 1900).

As a result, the nation which used to reject the Latin language began to aspire to rhetoric; further, the wearing of our dress became a distinction, and the toga came into fashion and little by little the Britons went astray into alluring vices: to the promenade (*porticus*), the bath, the well-appointed dinner table.

(Tac. *Agr.* 21)

For Tacitus, Latin language and rhetoric appear an important premise for social integration and upward mobility, as we shall also see in his description of the career of Vibius Crispus from Vercellae (cf. Chapter 5.1). But he also focuses on dress—in this case the *toga* as a sign of status for local élites—and an urban lifestyle. Similarly, Sertorius consciously promoted Roman *art de vivre* by ‘(. . .) teaching them to wear flowered cloaks and tunics and furnishing them with the means to do this (. . .)’ (Plutarch *Sert.* 14).

Does this combination of urbanism, education, values and lifestyle reflect Roman expectations for *Romanitas* or civilised behaviour? For Britain, Tacitus (*Agr.* 21) concludes: ‘The simple natives gave the name of *humanitas* to this factor of their slavery (*seruitutis*)’. While basically agreeing with the policies of his father-in-law, Agricola, it does appear that he intends to say that the ‘simple natives’ (*imperi-tos*) could never reach the level of Roman *humanitas*. But what does Tacitus mean with *humanitas*? Can we really translate it with culture or civilisation? *Humanitas* seems to be a key concept from the first century BC onwards, consisting of a repertoire of virtues, education and behaviour that made up Roman élite culture—a term already frequently employed by Cicero (e.g. *Cic. Prov. cons.* 12: ‘(. . .) the civilised state and accomplished habits of those nations and natives (. . .)’). But this *humanitas* was not for all people, despite Pliny’s allusion ‘to give civilisation (*humanitatem*) to humankind (. . .)’ which legitimised Roman expansion (*NH* 3.5.39; cf. Woolf 1998, 57; Buchheit 1963). *Humanitas* was limited to a small élitist club of Roman citizens who could afford an exclusive Greco-Roman education (Woolf 1998, 59; Veyne 2004)—an education to which even provincial élites strove in the Principate, as we can see from the many Greek quotes on epitaphs and the tombs of *grammatici* across the provinces. Aelius Aristides’ allusion to the ‘more cultured’ people across the Roman empire shows the way people could join this Roman equivalent of an empire-wide ‘rotary club’. Similarly Hippolytus (*Commentary on Daniel* 4.9.1–2) wrote in the early third century AD how the Roman empire gathered the highborn from every nation and called them ‘Romans’ (cf. Parkin and Pomeroy 2007, 17). In the words of Parkin and Pomeroy (2007, 27), we are dealing here with ‘a cosmopolitan élite identity that incorporated the leading people across the empire’.

This has important consequences since this exclusive élite culture made upper classes across the empire more similar to each other and thus widened the gap to the less educated local people in their own communities (cf. e.g. Ando 2000, 374). For this reason, the conventional polarisation between ‘Romans’ and ‘natives’ becomes increasingly pointless as we move from the Republic to the Principate. This does not however

imply that *humanitas* constitutes a uniform élite culture. Instead, each person would excel in their *humanitas* in relation to their abilities and the local settings. Greeks like Aristeides, for example, probably excelled in Greek *paideia*, but not in Roman *mos maiorum*, jurisdiction or Latin literature. There is the story of Apollonius, an Arcadian from Messene, who complains: ‘my father did not give me a Greek education, but sent me here [to Rome] to learn jurisprudence’—a particularly ‘Roman’ vocation (Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* 7.42).

The question arises to what extent *humanitas* had the motivational force to guide people’s behaviour and cultural choices across Italy and the Roman West. In this respect, Greco-Roman literature, myth and history from Homer to Vergil, may have provided the kind of ‘education’ that ‘tend to produce a stronger cultural conformity in the population’ (quote from Friedman 2003, 72 on the rôle of education in modern France). In modern encounters, it is the colonial discourse that defines rules of inclusion and exclusion. Under the assumption of the superiority of the coloniser’s culture, colonisers asserted the need for the colonised to be ‘raised up’ through colonial contact (cf. Ashcroft *et al.* 2009, 37, s.v. colonial discourse); this does of course remind us of the teaching for the natives in Agricola’s and Sertorius’s colonial policies.

Equally complex is the question of who is manipulating local identities. As Tacitus *Agricola* (21) shows, Rome could ‘direct’ the provincials in their cultural choices, for example through the governor ‘supporting’ education, markets and temples:

(. . .) he (Agricola) would exhort individuals, assist communities to create temples, market-places, houses; he praised the energetic, rebuked the indolent, and the rivalry for his compliments took the place of coercion.

Although the examples of Sertorius and Agricola suggested that ‘forced’ or ‘coercive assimilation’ was theoretically doable in the Roman empire, modern studies show that this was usually counter-productive as in the case of the ‘assimilation’ of the Indians in North America, the Aborigines in Australia or the forced Christianisation of ‘natives’—all of which generally led to increasing resistance against the dominant culture (cf. Stern 1982a; Hoxie 1984). In the nineteenth century, Sir George Grey—Governor of Southern Australia, New Zealand and South Africa—who opposed the policy of ethnic segregation, exposed indigenous societies to ‘Western’ justice and education by ‘absorbing them into white employment, and by teaching them Christian morality’ (Grey 1841, 200f, 217f; Gump 1994; 1998). ‘Civilising’ was done through education, mainly through missionaries, and by attempting to destroy pre-existing forms of power and hierarchies. But it is apparent that such an active strategy

of integration is counterproductive. Grey's policy resulted in increased opposition, in this case an almost collective 'resistance' to British colonialism. Interestingly, the Romans seem to have been well-aware that 'forced assimilation' was counterproductive. Cassius Dio (56.18.2–3) wrote that social change was meant to be gradual and hardly noticeable to the 'natives'. If change was imposed too quickly, it could lead to open rebellion, as in the case of Varus's doomed governorship in Germany:

The barbarians were adapting themselves to Roman ways, were becoming accustomed to hold markets, and were meeting in peaceful assemblages. They had not, however, forgotten their ancestral habits (πατρίων ἡθῶν), their native manners (συμφύτων τρόπων), their old life of independence, or the power derived from arms. Hence, so long as they were 'unlearning' these customs gradually and by the way, as one may say, under careful watching, they were not disturbed by the change in their manner of life, and were becoming different without knowing it. But when Quintilius Varus became governor of the province of Germany (. . .), he strove to change them more rapidly.

Voluntary Self-assimilation

We therefore have to focus our attention on decisions and cultural choices which the individual in the local population could have taken when accommodating to life under Roman rule. One possible form of adaptation in Northwest Italy could be a process of voluntary assimilation. This term usually relates to immigrants who adopt the lifestyle and culture of the majority group, adopting the social, economic and cultural 'mainstream' (e.g. the Jews in America or the Huguenots in England and Germany, cf. e.g. Heinze 1990; Frankel (ed) 1992). Assimilation results in the transformation or substitution of identity by giving up, though in some instances only for public purpose, one's previous lifestyle and forms of social representation, which become absorbed into and indistinguishable from the culture of the dominant social group (Christensen and Levinson 2003, 70). Self-assimilation is no new concept for studies on the Roman empire. Already Haverfield, Millett and many others focused on the 'voluntary process' of adopting Roman culture, which Mario Torelli (1996, 1999) called *auto-romanizzazione* or 'self-Romanisation'. There has been lot of critiques of this approach, especially its inherent focus on the local élites, while the rest of population—largely ignored—is assumed to merely adopt Roman culture by some kind of 'trickle-down-effect' (cf. Stek 2009, 13). And as we have seen above when we turned the centre-periphery model upside down, we should not assume that people voluntarily adopted Roman culture simply because of its 'superiority'.

However, self-assimilation can be a valuable concept if we consider it to be only one among many possible strategies that individuals and social groups adopted in specific circumstances depending on their particular experience of Roman imperialism. There will be contexts in which the individual attempted to become strongly integrated by practising some form of self-assimilation, ‘aspiring to become like the majority population in all ways’ (Christensen and Levinson 2003, 70).

In modern situations, it is the minority that adapts to the majority. On first view, this seems to contradict the situation in the Roman empire where the ‘conquered’ population adapted to the minority culture of the Roman conquerors and colonisers. But we have to look at the various contact situations in which people may show aspects of ‘self-assimilation’. On a top level of society, new citizens of equestrian and senatorial rank may have strived to become part of an exclusive ‘club’ that was dominated by well-established families who controlled the Senate, the top magistracies, the *societates publicanorum*, etc. In such a context people had to adhere to the appropriate code of conduct of such élite groups: the higher the status, the more ‘Roman’ their behaviour.

But there were also people of various subaltern statuses (whether indigenous or not) that needed to ‘assimilate’, like the many rural dwellers, migrants and the many people uprooted by warfare, enslavement and deportation who moved to newly founded *municipia* and *coloniae*, joined the Roman legions or praetorian guards, or aspired to membership in Roman-style colleges and guilds. Were these people passively adapting to their new environment in a process of socialisation or enculturation, i.e. by acquiring cultural models, values, norms and language by living or growing up in a particular environment and experiencing social influences (Grusec and Hastings 2007)? Did not these people, too, make at least some conscious decisions (i.e. ‘assimilate’) to learn and adopt another language, dress code, food preferences, religious cult practices and other rules of behaviour *appropriate*—or even *necessary*—for their new habitat?

Self-assimilation is no collective phenomenon, but a personal choice. For instance, the collective dedication of the subdued and enslaved Salassi to their conqueror, Augustus, in the colony Augusta Praetoria is a sign of loyalty that may have facilitated their integration (cf. Chapter 4.1). But adopting the names, dress, language and culture of the dominant population in Aosta, which made the Salassi ‘undistinguishable’ from the colonists (Walser 1989), was the personal choice of each individual. Of course, people may have tried to assimilate and imitate other people’s lifestyles and behaviours in order to become part of a new social group, but this may have failed. People may not have been accepted, for example by long-established citizens and people who claimed a certain

ancestry. Presenting oneself as a member of the élite may not have been sufficient. There were many successful *liberti* across the Roman West who displayed their economic and social success by their *Romanitas*; but as revealed in the case of the fictitious freedman Trimalchio in Petronius's *Cena Trimalchionis*, which portrays the complex social relationships and representations of power and status in Roman society, the gap in social standing remained despite Trimalchio's enormous financial resources and his active assimilation to élite lifestyle (*Satyricon* 29.5, 30.1, 60.9).

These examples already show that in this apparent 'voluntary' process of self-assimilation people are often socially pressured to adapt as this provides a chance that enables upward social mobility and allows them to escape discrimination. At a top level of society, this may even allow people of 'humble origin'—in the words of Tacitus—and without the 'recommendations of birth' to take 'the leading place in the Emperor's circle of friends' (*Dial.* 8). Generally one would assume that, as a result of assimilation, 'people who do not have a common cultural heritage come to share the same body of opinions, traditions and allegiances' (Christensen and Levinson 2003, 636). In this respect one might assume that people may have willingly abandoned their old 'native' names and adopted Latin names; they may have also abandoned their old languages, dress, status symbols and much more. But did people really internalise the new culture or did they just do it publically, while continuing to use their Celtic name and language in a private context? In this regard, examples of code-switching provide insight to how people could choose their language and culture according to context (e.g. private/public). For example, names of indigenous origins and without *tria nomina* are more frequent on graffiti compared to stone inscriptions (cf. naming on graffiti in Gaul and on British curse tablets; Haeussler and Pearce 2007; cf. papers in Adams *et al.* (eds) 2002, e.g. Fewster 2002 on bilingualism in Roman Egypt).

We should also bear in mind that self-assimilation does not necessarily equal 'self-Romanisation' since people adapted to specifically local conditions, by 'imitating' the lifestyle, dress and language of a particular social group, like an urban 'class' or a municipal, commercial or religious association. Consequently people may not have consciously adopted a Roman identity *per se*. But the result might appear similar as new identities and new status would have been expressed by using a cultural repertoire that was readily available—and due to increasing interaction, this repertoire may have varied less and less across the Roman empire during the Principate. Our task therefore has to be to seek out subtle differences in people's 'cultural identity' from the available evidence.

'Assimilation' does not mean that we are dealing with a homogenous 'Roman' culture. Even in modern sociological studies, the 'homogeneity of

the nation-state does not imply the production of identical subjects and mind-sets: it merely refers to the production of a common public culture, and this involves a split between the public and the private' (Friedman 2003, 72). In the Roman context, the idea of a 'public culture' appears very convincing as it also reflects much of the material culture and the patterns of consumption in the Principate, though even there—behind the façade of seemingly standardised epigraphic habits, villa architecture, elite lifestyle and 'mass products'—we will be able to recognise diversity since each person, group and community tried to create his identity within the globalising culture of the Principate. And there will also be some 'public' arenas where *Romanitas* is no issue, for example in many cults, especially rural cult places (Haeussler 2008b).

On the other hand, the question arises to what extent the public arena—created by Roman-style *fora*, *basilicae*, theatres and podium temples—provided a context in which a particular lifestyle was (intentionally or unintentionally) propagated (Haeussler 1999; 2007b); this may remind us of Tacitus's Britons going astray to the 'promenade'. We also should not forget the power of words, as in the case of Aelius Aristides' panegyrics whose elevated language, moral authority and the public and ceremonial conditions of performance could give political messages 'persuasive force' (Pernot 2008, 175). How much more influence can we ascribe to collective events, like civic religious festivals in the urban centres, which were an important means to transmit new ideas. There, people of various social groups displayed their status and *performed* their 'rôle', actively involving people of the rural and urban *populus*.

Instead of the traditionally assumed 'trickle-down-effect' from a 'Roman(ised)' elite to the subaltern classes, we can imagine instead how a nonélite individual was negotiating his/her identity and lifestyle when confronted with various cultural messages and other people's 'performances' in everyday life. Among others, this may have led to forms of 'bricolage', i.e. processes by which individuals—the subaltern classes—developed their own cultural identities by adopting objects or elements that were ready-to-hand, like those of the 'dominant' culture that gave them new meaning from the 'dominant' culture. Though superficially similar to the above-mentioned creolisation, *bricolage* means the infinite, improvisational recombination of a fixed series of elements, as in Lévi-Strauss's study on mythical thought with people using 'the means at hand' (1974, 16–36). For Derrida (1978, 285), 'every discourse is bricoleur'—and as a consequence, bricolage could be considered a creative process that innovates and creates something new. In this respect, creolisation (*v. supra*) can be explained as a mixture of fragments through *bricolage*, i.e. by taking the objects and elements at hand and using them in a spontaneous fashion, which is also a way to express local identities in a global world (Knepper 2006, 70–1; Roth 2003). But unlike

most of contemporary sociology, we also need to consider that there are real constraints on bricolage (cf. Hervieu-Léger 2005). Nicola Terrenato saw Roman Italy as a ‘complex patchwork made of elements of various age and provenance’ with old objects acquiring ‘new meaning to serve new purposes within new contexts’ (1998a, 23). But while Terrenato suggested that ‘Romanisation’ hardly affected the social identity of the subélite groups (in the case of Volterra) (cf. Terrenato 1998b, 94–9, 106–12), we should start from the assumption that the lives of all people were transformed since the social relation and the self-definition of the social actors were affected when carrying out their daily routines within a changed (‘Romanised’) *locale* (or setting) (cf. Roth 2003; Haussler 2007b).

Cultural Globalisation

As we have seen, ‘self-assimilation’ is not the sole answer to understanding sociocultural change in Roman Italy. Even élite identities are highly personal and circumstantial since we cannot assume that élites—either in Rome or Italy—internalised all aspects of Roman *humanitas* and *mores maiorum* in the same way. In this respect, *cultural globalisation* and *hybridisation* appear to be a contradiction to the concept of *self-assimilation*. *Assimilation* is about consciously adopting and internalising a language, lifestyle and ‘public’ culture of one specific (dominant) group—usually the conquerors or colonists—motivated by the wish for social advancement and integration. By contrast, *hybridisation* relates to the creation of new local cultures, taking up substance of both the local and the incoming culture(s). Cultural *globalisation* appears like a more subconscious development: it was the result of the increasingly intensive interaction and socioeconomic interdependences between the inhabitants in the Roman empire that stimulated trans-cultural identities, while ‘ethnic identities’ (similar to ‘national cultures’ in a modern context) could no longer be supported. The question arises whether assimilation, hybridisation and globalisation excluded or complemented each other in the Roman empire.

Cultural globalisation reflects not only an increase in cross-cultural contacts and the breaking down of cultural boundaries, it also results in the development of new identities and consciousness (Appadurai 1996; Smith 2003; Tomlinson 1999). In the words of Robertson (1987, 2–39; also cf. Robertson 1988; Robertson and Lechner 1985), globalisation involves

the development of something like a global culture, not as normatively binding but in the sense of a general mode of discourse about the world and its variety.

In this view cultural globalisation is above all a discourse about identity—in this case, personal and collective identities within the Roman empire (for discourse, cf. Foucault 1971; for ‘post-colonial discourses’, cf. Ashcroft *et al.* 2009, 62–4; s.v. discourse, De Fina *et al.* 2006). Identity has to be understood as a social construction. It is not static but fluid and ever-changing, resulting from a process of constant construction and negotiation (De Fina *et al.* 2006). Following Foucault, identity is a process that is embedded in social practices (Brown 1996, 729; Sahlin 1993). Thus, identities are seen not as merely represented in discourse, but rather as performed, enacted and embodied through a variety of linguistic and non-linguistic means—some of which will be visible through the filter of our archaeological and historical sources. The way individuals and groups understand and present themselves to others is constrained by existing societal structures, by existing ‘social and discourse practices’ (De Fina *et al.* 2006, 2). These constraints restrict the ways in which the individual can create his/her identity: for example, people’s dress may relate to local perceptions of gender, age and status. In this respect, the globalising culture in the Roman empire may have provided not only more choices—and different choices—it may also have provided alternatives to local ‘traditions’, making people rethink, challenge and perhaps reinvigorate existing identities and practices.

In this respect, modern definitions of ‘global culture’ appear very similar to the ‘Roman’ or ‘dominant’ culture that we find in Italy during the Principate, namely as a repertoire of commonly shared cultural propositions, both material and immaterial (e.g. artefacts, values/virtues, behaviour, expressions, models, understandings, myths, etc.) which individuals and groups can employ to express their identity, partly by a process of cultural bricolage. The term ‘global culture’ also focuses our attention away from the ‘centre’. People did not just look to Rome or the princeps for ‘guidance’, but also, among others, to powerful local individuals, such as *patroni* and *flamines*. There were also other cultural centres in Italy and across the empire, like Marseille, Athens, Antiochia or Alexandria. And there were cultural trends that were not exclusively generated by Rome, such as the Second Sophistic or the spread of Greco-Oriental cults in the Roman West. Rome’s rôle in spreading Greco-Oriental cults should not be overemphasised since, as we shall see in the case of the Iseion-Serapeion of Bodincomagus-Industria, many local patrons had first-hand contact with Greco-Egyptian cults in the East (*v. infra*). Cults and cultural elements could also have been transported by individuals, like those in the Roman army.

Neither ‘Romanisation’ nor ‘globalisation’ is to be understood as the homogenisation of culture (cf. King 1990a; 1990b; Haeussler 1997–1998 (1999)). Instead these processes and the ‘global repertoire’ were constantly

evolving and people could experience them very differently from place to place and depending on their own status and perceptions. Indeed, during the Republic, a particularly Roman or Italo-Roman ‘repertoire’ of shared cultural propositions was still evolving and élites in Rome participated primarily in a ‘Hellenistic’ discourse. It is therefore necessary to focus on the diversity of the various local discourses and practices. Though we should not ignore Rome’s dominant rôle as cultural trendsetter during the Principate, especially for local élites and public culture, the image of Rome was also manipulated in local contexts, taking on local cultural elements.

As a consequence, globalisation and particularisation (or localisation) are closely linked, as we can see in the modern term ‘glocalisation’ (Ashcroft *et al.* 2009, 104–6). Particularisation describes the multitude of processes by which people negotiate their place in the world and express their local identity, selecting, reworking and transforming the ‘dominant’ culture by a process of bricolage (cf. Gupta and Ferguson 1997, 6–7 for an ‘anthropology of place’ and the study of inter-relations of culture, power and place, and how they affect local identities and cultural resistance). How the individual in the local context experienced both global discourse and the various local, regional and imperial discourses of power can vary enormously. We can only imagine the complexity of numerous simultaneous developments that social actors were subjected to and interpreted in different ways depending on their own history, their cultural understandings and education, their political and social environments and their localities. This makes up ‘the cultural dynamics of globalization’ (cf. Hopper 2007, 3), and as a result, in modern times, heterogeneity and complexity are considered to be the ‘prevailing tendencies of our globalizing era’ (Hopper 2007, 3). Also in Roman times, we can recognise increasing diversification in certain fields of everyday life. This is well-documented for the religious sphere where cults and rituals take up elements from a large variety of sources, creating an unprecedented pluralism: even in a communal space, like a sanctuary, we can see both private and public choices regarding cult practices, constantly reshaping local cults (cf. for example the diversification of cult practices in Gaul: Brouquier-Reddé *et al.* (eds) 2006; Lepetz and Van Andringa (eds) 2008). The level of diversity that is visible in the archaeological and epigraphic record may however vary depending on status and people’s social relations.

Compared to the concept of self-assimilation, these globalising features have the advantage that they influenced not only a small élite, who aspired to excel in their *Romanitas*, but a much larger spectrum of society. Each individual in the Roman empire was probably impinged by these globalising and imperial discourses as they were communicated to

the general public through public cults, theatre, festivals, architectures, sculpture, and so on.

Colonial and Imperial Discourse

Imperial relations may have been established by guns, guile and disease, but they were maintained in their interpellative phase by textuality, both institutionally (. . .) and informally (. . .), [so that] colonialism (. . .) is an operation of discourse and as an operation of discourse it interpellates colonial subjects by incorporating them in a system of representation.

(Tiffin and Lawson 1994, 3)

Also in Roman times, we find a basic imperial discourse not unlike those in modern colonial encounters, portraying the ‘conquerors’ as civilised and the ‘conquered’ as ‘savages’ or ‘barbarians’, where the assumed superiority of the colonisers’ culture provides rules of inclusion and exclusion (Ashcroft *et al.* 2009, 37; cf. e.g. Barker and Hulme 1994). But Romans also created the image of Rome integrating her *socii* more easily, turning barbarians into *amici*, allowing the ‘conquered’ to acquire Roman citizenship and participate at the highest levels of imperial government. However, in a post-colonial reading of Greco-Roman authors, as suggested by Hingley (2005), we can also see their inherent ethnocentrism (also cf. Kistler 2009). We can also attribute the traditionally colonial ‘patronising’ rôle to Rome, whose expansion was legitimised as it provided peace and spread ‘civilisation’ to the barbarians (Pliny *NH* 3.5.39; Tac. *Agr.* 21; Aristides *To Rome* 93–7). By the early Principate, Rome had successfully promoted its image as protector with the princeps as *pater patriae* for the whole of Italy and the empire (cf. Zanker 1988). Like *humanitas* and globalisation, this overarching imperial discourse acquired more and more substance in the early Principate. In a local context, aspects of this imperial discourse were re-enacted by rituals and practices, like cults for the princeps and the *domus diuinae*, and as a means for local élites to show their proximity to the princeps. Coins, sculptures, milestones and law-speaking were among the media that were used to make the subaltern classes learn about Rome, the emperor, the army and Roman ideologies: *pax*, *iustitia*, prosperity, *concordia*, and so on. In Arles, Augustus’s shield of virtue (*clipeus uirtutis*) was exhibited publically, and in Ancyra the provincials could gaze at Augustus’s *res gestae* in a monumental bilingual inscription. The colonial charter of Spanish Urso reflects this imperial discourse, imposing for example Rome’s Capitoline triad and a hierarchical seating arrangement in the theatre to re-enact publically the status of local and imperial magistrates (Gabba and Crawford 1996). We may therefore

suggest that Rome's imperial discourse did not only affect local élites, but the majority of people to varying degrees: however, local élites could use it for their own means in order to consolidate their own authority.

Thus far we have moved from 'casual' interactions and 'arbitrary' adoptions between 'Romans' and 'natives' in a remote contact situation (cf. Chapter 1.1) to societal integration of conquered people in the Roman state (cf. Chapter 1.2) and finally to cultural developments in our aim to explain why individuals—consciously or not—adopted and used certain cultural elements and objects of alien origin and how they used them to create new local cultural understandings and identities (cf. Chapter 1.4). In this respect, people may have consciously adopted elements of a dominant culture in order to avoid social discrimination and to consolidate their status or improve it. In other words, people may actually have been pressured into 'voluntary self-assimilation'. People from various levels of society may have aspired to be part of a particular social group by displaying a particular lifestyle. At the top level of local society, some may have aspired for the *Romanitas*, *humanitas* and ostentatious lifestyle of élite culture, while others may have assimilated the behaviour, language and symbols of a particular social group in a local context, be it craftsmen, religious and professional colleges, freedmen, and many more.

At this stage we move on from the concept of an 'élite culture'—a set of symbols and behavioural patterns which people emulated or internalised to varying degrees—to other cultural developments that affected all strata of society. Each individual must have negotiated and constructed his/her identity with elements that were at hand. As we have seen, the term *bricolage* most closely represents the way people could take up and transform elements from indigenous, élite, colonial or Greco-Roman culture to present their own identity, thus creating creole and hybrid 'identities'. But was this a conscious process? As the Roman empire moved from Republic to Principate, people were not only part of wider societal and economic structures (cf. Chapter 1.2), but they also participated in a global (but Romano-centric) discourse about the world. In this respect, many people, especially those in Italy during the Principate, probably *grew into* these local cultures, learning about appropriate behaviour and 'socialising' in an environment that was dominated by a global and imperial discourse that largely shaped people's self-understanding and motivated their actions and aspirations. But was there any space for cultural resistance, a native narrative or a subaltern culture? There might well have been a 'subaltern culture' vis-à-vis local élites, but cultural resistance against Rome and 'Romanisation' is a difficult concept. The degree of participation and integration and the concept of legal 'equality'—certainly in Italy—are two major factors that distinguished Roman Italy from modern colonial encounters.

To summarise, the Roman conquest initiated and catalysed many social, cultural and economic developments, but which did not necessarily lead to a Roman identity. There was a multitude of complementary developments and processes that created the complexity of individual, collective and public identities in Cisalpine Gaul. If we want to understand the cultural developments in Northwest Italy, we need to look at the ‘intersection of the global and the local within different contexts’ (Hopper 2007, 3 on modern globalisation). In what follows, we explore the rôle of the social agent and his/her capacity to change local society and culture.

1.5 THE INDIVIDUAL AND HIS/HER PERSONAL CHOICES

What happened in Italy and the Roman West at the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Principate is a unique phenomenon in history. Our research methodology must reflect the ambiguity, complexity and the dynamic character of these sociocultural developments if we aim for a better understanding of the Roman expansion and its cultural consequences. Already in our discussion so far, we have moved away from wild generalising theories of social and cultural change and have increasingly focused on the individual social agent and his/her motivations. In theory, the individual has many choices, but his/her actions are also constrained. A society’s traditions, ideologies, symbolic actions and forms of personal dependency (e.g. vassalage, patronage) not only serve to limited existing social patterns, but they must have also limited the choices of the social agent (for the term *tradition* cf. Shils 1981; Weber 1984, §2; Giddens 1993; Hobsbawm and Ranger (eds) 2009). Indigenous cultures and social patterns can therefore be expected to have persisted and become reproduced with only minor adaptations to accommodate Roman imperialism. But what could have provided such a strong motivation for an individual to break with existing cultural understanding and adopt new and alien features?

Our approach to sociocultural change should be embedded within an understanding of the mechanisms of society: how are social structures maintained and modified? As we have already seen so far, we are not dealing with societies or cultures that *act* in which the individual had hardly any power to change his or her own destiny (Durkheim 1915; Clarke 1968; Hill 1977; Renfrew 1972)—a view already criticised by Hodder (1982, 5). Instead we need to focus on the individual as the active social agent. But even in the current post-colonial debate (cf. Ashcroft *et al.* 2009, 6–7 with further bibliography), the question of whether the individual—‘Roman’ or ‘native’—can really act freely and autonomously, is heavily debated. We have previously talked

about constraints, like traditions, conventions and economic considerations. We also need to explore to what extent the individual's actions are already 'predetermined by the ways in which their identity has been constructed' (Ashcroft *et al.* 2009, 6–7). We may assume a dialectical relationship between the individual and the society (i.e. social structures are the product of individual actions) and they in turn are constrained by social structures, so that structures are in a continuous state of restructuration. In the words of Tilley (1982, 31), 'the activities of individuals and groups inevitably produce social conditions which in some respect constrain and set limits to the possibility for future actions' (cf. Tourraine 1977, 3–4; Giddens 1984; Shanks and Tilley 1987, 175–85). This has implications for our study, since stability and change are in constant interaction and can become polarised (i.e. normative rules and principles are continuously re-interpreted by the actions of individuals) which also emphasises the rôle of architecture (setting) and performances (e.g. cult) to change sociocultural understanding.

In this concept, change will normally be 'slow and incremental' (Tilley 1982, 36) and hardly visible to the people involved. In Northwest Italy, sociocultural patterns seem to have been largely reproduced with only minor changes over relatively long periods, for example between the fourth and second centuries BC and between the first and third centuries AD. What needs to be explained are periods of abrupt changes, like the relatively rapid changes that gathered speed in Northwest Italy after 50 BC, breaking with traditions and understandings that had hardly changed in centuries.

We should not just focus on the local élites as the major protagonists: did they themselves initiate change or were they no longer capable to consolidate existing hierarchies? There may have been a profound clash of interests between social agents from all strata of society faced with alienated, obsolete social structures. But were local aristocrats still in control of the course of events or were they merely responding to a movement from below? After all, many local people had acquired first-hand knowledge of the 'outside world' in the first century BC, for example as merchants, voters, mercenaries or soldiers. Having served for years under the leadership of Roman politicians like Pompey, Caesar, Mark Antony, Agrippa and Octavian—both in the western and the eastern Mediterranean—the question arises whether these *Cisalpini* could have simply gone home to a small-scale rural community in Northwest Italy, just like previous generations of auxiliary soldiers in the second century BC. Ever since the conquest, the number of *Cisalpini* moving to towns or acquiring wealth as traders, craftsmen and mercenaries increased drastically. At the same time, existing mechanisms of re-enforcing hierarchies, for example by forms of reciprocity and redistribution, may have

become undermined, notably through Roman taxation, army, law and urbanism. Especially in an asymmetric contact situation, this must have revealed inherent socioeconomic inequalities in the local societies, such as unequal access to resources and political power. This probably created tensions that might have made people challenge existing, outdated hierarchies, ideologies and symbols of power. In this way, the individual might have aimed to quit or bypass the constraints of indigenous society that limited their aspirations.

This legitimation crisis ‘in which the asymmetries in social misrepresentations were revealed’ can be considered the premise for any profound sociocultural change (Tilley 1984). In such a situation, we are not talking about the élites merely introducing some new media of élite control into the repertoire of Iron Age society, like coinage or epigraphy. Instead we have to understand how entire ideologies and symbols of power could have lost their meaning to such an extent that Iron Age cultures in Northwest Italy largely discontinued soon after 50 BC. People’s experience in the Gallic and Civic Wars may have been one factor that reshaped local cultures. Being faced with the breakup of existing cultural models, may have looked for, employing readily available elements and adapted them to their own cognition in order to express their lifestyles and identities in a form of bricolage.

An important task will be to bring the individual into the debate. We have to focus on the social agent, their discrepant experiences, their various, conflicting interests, choices and actions. We cannot even expect the élites of one community (tribe, *ciuitas*, *municipium*) to have a consensus on how to act: there will be partial interests and power struggles, and we therefore do not necessarily have ‘the élite’ or ‘the natives’ acting. Furthermore, we have to look for evidence for the subélite and subaltern classes; some of them were wealthy enough to set up inscriptions in the Principate, like traders and craftsmen, and even many rural dwellers, notably in the Canavese. But while most inscriptions date from the first to third centuries AD, archaeology provides an insight for the entire period under review, for example on the way individual identities were constructed in a funerary record.

The social agent is absolutely essential in this period of increasing individualisation. Most Cisalpine Iron Age societies were small-scale and more focused on collective actions and identities (cf. Chapter 2.1): but certainly from the first century BC onwards, the evidence suggests a strong push of individuality, partly due to individuals acquiring the wealth to display their status and identity publically on inscriptions and in a funerary context. We can recognise how different individuals constructed and displayed their private and public identities. Inscriptions, for example, besides all standardisations in the Roman period, still show enormous

individualisation regarding onomastics, cult preferences, etc. But stone inscriptions are above all a medium to display one's public identity for posterity (Haeussler 1998b; 2008a), and therefore this does not indicate that people have necessarily 'internalised' this public identity display. In this respect, graffiti and writing tablets often show a different, more private face of someone's identity where people did not use the *tria nomina* of a Roman citizen, employed Celtic words or word combinations, etc. (cf. Feugère 2008; Haeussler and Pearce 2007). The enormous variability and diversity of our evidence is not only confirmation of the individuality of the decision-making process, but also of the various factors which 'influenced' the decisions of the social actor.

Motivating the Social Agent

Behind an individual's decisions and choices, we have to examine the motivations that induce his or her choices. Regarding local élites, one too often generalises their rationale by assuming they simply wanted to consolidate their authority by whatever means available to them, thus ignoring that the local people consisted of numerous heterogeneous social groups, each with their own conflicting motivations and aspirations manifested through their own distinct 'clans' or '*ethnoi*' and that they were often artificially brought together in one *ciuitas*. We should expect tensions between the old aristocracies who lost power and the 'nouveaux riches' that profited from the economic opportunities or conflict between Rome-friendly élites and those who wanted to preserve the existing way of life. Migration is another important factor. Tens of thousands of people who—partly voluntarily, partly pressured by socioeconomic conditions—moved from rural areas to the newly developing urban centres in Northwest Italy were faced with a basic conflict in their decision-making process. On the one hand, there would have been the 'traditional' motivation to stay within the network of one's family and the home community together with the fear of the alien habitat. On the other hand, there was the need for economic survival and a desire for improving one's social status and wealth. In this way, people's motivations were simultaneously framed by many, often contradictory cultural and behavioural models. An overriding sense of obligation to the community, for example, might have led an individual to invest his/her self-esteem in being seen to serve it, and to stifle more individualistic plans for self-advancement and personal growth (cf. D'Andrade 1992).

Human motivation leads us to the realms of psychology which we already touched upon in our earlier discussion. For example, we need to take into account a number of discourses in the Roman empire which people participated in and which provided a certain psychological force

for rulers and the ruled on how to behave. Each discourse, like the imperial discourse on the benevolence of Roman rule or the élite discourse on *humanitas* and education, consists of various cultural models (i.e. mental constructs and behavioural guides, cf. Gee 1999, 58–79). The imperial discourse, for example, propagates a series of cultural understandings of Rome’s superiority, the image of the triumphant Roman army, the ideology of Rome bringing peace, prosperity and civilisation, the image of the princeps as *pater patriae* and much more. The term ‘ideology’ refers here to a set of ideas that guide people’s actions, aspirations and behaviour (Geertz 1973b). In this respect, ideologies affect all aspects of everyday life. In addition, there is the ideology of the dominant social group in the empire: in this respect, ideology is also a system of presentation that explicitly or implicitly claims to ‘absolute truth’ (Duncker 2006).

By contrast, cultural models operate on various simultaneous levels: they might provide models of how to behave in a particular context, for example as citizen of a *municipium*, as craftsman, trader or slave, as a member of an institution (like the local *ordo*, the Roman army or a religious college) or other social groups (e.g. *plebs*, freedpersons, etc.). *Auctoritas*, *dignitas*, *gravitas*, *humanitas*, *pietas*, *religio* and so on are all models that had the power to shape people’s lives, especially if there were positive or negative reinforcements. For example, in a ‘guilt culture’, cultural conformity is motivated by guilt in contrast to a ‘shame-culture’: people may therefore experience moral anxiety if they consider violating such norms (Spiro 1987, 136). Any individual may of course have conflicting cultural models (e.g. ‘family’ vs. personal ‘success’). In this respect, mythology provides simplified ways of how to think about the world, providing assumptions of what is ‘normal’ (cf. Gee 1999, 59). Homer and Vergil’s Aeneas provide very powerful models on the behaviour, values and virtues which élites across Italy aspired to, notably in the Principate. A number of paradigms were new to Northwest Italy and needed to be learned and internalised first, like the ‘success-model’ or the ‘profit-model’ that were hardly appropriate in the predominantly small-scale subsistence societies of pre-Roman times.

But just how persuasive are these cultural models? Some models guide people’s actions and decisions. Some models are put into action, while others might be used to judge oneself and others: does one fulfil the expectations of a member of the Senate, of the local *ordo*, a guild or the *plebs urbana*? Do others present the behaviour of a barbarian? ‘Models’ of how to behave were also presented in myth and art: for example, the Celts were frequently used to demonstrate undesirable behaviours, such as the unlimited consumption of undiluted wine (cf. Kistler 2009). These mental constructs were mirrored by external representations, but such cultural symbols, signs, texts and artefacts cannot

be expected to have had power just because they were symbols, but the sense of a cultural symbol must be understood in order for it to acquire meaning (D'Andrade 1981, 179–95; 1990; 1992, 228–9; for the symbolic level of cultural models also cf. Hutchins 1995). Our task has to be to question the meaning and degree of alienation and internalisation (if any) of the symbols we recognise in the literary, epigraphic and archaeological record.

In this respect, a study by Melford Spiro analysed the varying levels in the internalisation of cultural propositions, starting with a kind of indifferent acquaintance (also cf. Barth 1982; Bloch 1985). At the second level of internalising, cultural beliefs are adopted, but

it is only when it [the cultural system] is acquired by the actors as a personal belief system (. . .) that a cultural system may be said to be *internalised*. (. . .) At this level, cultural systems are not only external to the actors (they are not only represented in external symbols and other signs), but they are internal to them (they engage their minds and influence their action) (. . .) At the fourth (and final) level of acquisition, the cultural system is not only internalised, but it is highly *salient*. That is, the actors hold it with especially strong conviction because it engages not only their minds, but also their emotions.

(Spiro n.d., 38 cited after D'Andrade 1992, 36–7;
cf. Spiro 1987, 38, 123)

The relationship between the various cultural models, their symbols and their internalisation by the social actor affects our interpretation of Roman material culture with regard to their social significance vis-à-vis the internalisation of 'Roman' ideologies—or local/global ideologies—as personal belief systems in the local societies of Roman Italy. These cultural understandings can of course be contested and negotiated (cf. Fox 1991; Strauss 1992).

In this respect, the Roman Republican *mores maiorum* ('ancestral customs') can be seen as a cultural model that had the *psychological force* to guide the decisions, aspirations and expressions of Rome's élite—at least during most of the Republic (for *mos maiorum*, cf. Hölkeskamp 2010, 17–18; Linke and Stemmler (eds) 2000). Aspects like *uirtus*, *pietas*, *nobilitas*, *grauitas*, *dignitas*, *auctoritas*, *religio* and *iustitia* also constitute a set of behavioural models. However, their impact on local élites in North-west Italy was probably rather limited—even after the grant of Roman citizenship—since these new citizens could not learn the *mores maiorum* from their parents or environment by a process of socialisation. This may perhaps explain the need for Augustus to legislate on issues of morality and conduct in order to provide rules of behaviour for an expanding citizen body in Italy (cf. Galinsky 1981). Similarly the Augustan age seems to

reflect the emergence of a new set of cultural models that was not only manifested externally in art, architecture and literature, but also internalised by some as reflected in ethics, morality and philosophy, which affected people's lives and motivated their decisions.

Many people participated in the imperial and global discourses of the empire—consciously or not. Especially for those local people with higher social and political aspirations, the Roman élite might have served as 'rôle model', thus affecting their cultural behaviour at all levels, both privately and publically, including spheres, such as lifestyle, eating and drinking, dress and appearance. This is mirrored in the presence of different sets of archaeological artefacts that are related to Greco-Roman forms, for example, certain types of pottery and glass, some of which were previously uncommon, or the import of new types of food (olive-oil, fish-sauce and wine) or objects regarding dress or hairstyles (e.g. toilet sets, brooches, fabrics). Many artefacts may reflect a change of identity; but this may only be a public identity, and it need not have been a 'Roman' one.

Indeed, the question arises as to why some cultural models acquire force, while others remain hollow. And why should some models, for example pre-Roman cults and funerary rituals, lose their motivational force to be re-enacted at some stage during the Roman period? Certain changes in the archaeological record imply that certain (Roman) cultural propositions acquired motivational force and determined people's behaviour and recognition. For example, having surrendered previous motivational models of a rural community, or not feeling compelled by them anymore, people migrated to the town. Living within a city must have confronted the individual with a variety of cultural models, suggesting different forms of social expression, behaviour and aspirations appropriate to the urban community. The use of certain cultural expressions may have been appropriate, but they could have also remained meaningless. These models motivated the individual to participate in civic cults and festivals, to go to the theatre or amphitheatre. Urban models were bound to inspire emulation and imitation, especially if people participated in urban careers and social networks (e.g. *collegia*): people might have started to learn to write, use grave markers in stone or adopt a Latin name. In a way, this was a process of enculturation and bricolage: people learned the meaning of new cultural models and subsequently adopted and manipulated them to define one's personal lifestyle and identity, thus creating many local particularities. But also in a rural context, people were 'bricolising' the various cultural propositions to express their own identity, like combining Latin alphabet, Romano-Celtic onomastics, local forms of status and using stones as grave markers that were highly unsuitable to be inscribed.

1.6 FROM DE-ROMANISING ITALY TO INDIVIDUAL CREATIVITY

Having jettisoned the ideas of a dominant Greco-Roman culture and of a unilateral process of ‘progressive Romanisation’ from the centre to the periphery, there is therefore no point in plotting artefact distribution as positive signs for the spread of Roman culture or Roman identity and the interpretation of all forms of cultural ‘retardation’ as ‘cultural resistance’. We also have to question the conventional assumption of a hierarchical arrangement from Roman authorities to local élites who in turn controlled their ethnic subjects (Millett 1990, 48–9, figure 14). Instead, the dynamics of Roman imperialism created a much more complex network of interrelated dependencies, which we need to examine in the course of this study, such as the official relationship between Rome and its *socii* and the private relationships through patronage. In view of the increasing individualisation of society, we have to focus on the actions and motivations of the individual and how his/her actions were framed by social dependencies and expectations.

This study’s main objective is to understand how people’s lives were transformed in the aftermath of the Roman conquest. How did the individual’s view of the world change and how did this affect people’s identities and cultural expressions? As we shall see, if it had not been for our literary sources, the Roman conquest *per se* would have been hardly visible in the archaeological record as it did not result in any immediate and significant sociocultural change. In Chapter 2, we focus on the Republican period, showing how people in Cisalpine Gaul developed strong local identities, reinvigorating local cultural expressions and practices in a nominally Roman period. Though the grant of Latin rights seems to have had an impact on people’s lifestyles and cultural expressions, leading to individuals experimenting with their identities in the first century BC, ‘becoming Roman’ and aspiring to what people may have perceived as ‘Roman culture’ was not an issue. By contrast in the Principate, we can recognise an accelerating diversification of society, culture and religion, but at the same time we also witness the increasing main-streaming of people. How can we explain such an apparent contradiction?

We therefore need a more subtle approach that aims to understand the potential and real bearings of Roman imperialism through the ages: how important is the Roman army, taxation, colonies, urbanism and economy really to initiate change? For example, does monetisation result in the commodification of social transactions, and does this in turn undermine Iron Age social structures? We also expect local élites to be conservative as they usually aim to preserve their authority, identity, economies, hierarchies and cultural symbols—why should they introduce profound change? People made gradual, isolated changes to consolidate

their status in a changing world, but this does not cause any ‘ruptures’. Consequently we have to ask what could have possibly constituted a legitimisation crisis, as this is an important premise for profound social change.

A focus on the empire’s impact can only provide a limited notion for understanding social change as it leaves out endogenous developments and largely ignores the individual’s creativity. At the centre of our analysis there must be the social agent in Northwest Italy. He or she must have been torn apart between different simultaneous and often contradictory cultural, economic and societal stimuli that motivated his/her actions. The individual did not just have the bipolar choice between staying ‘native’ or becoming ‘Roman’. And local élites did not just ‘assimilate’ Roman culture to consolidate their status and power. Instead, the individual was faced with a rather complex web of inter-related cultural models, discourses and ideologies that constrained his/her free and independent choice. People’s experience of Rome’s institutions and impositions, of the imperial and global discourses and people’s perceptions of Rome’s ‘opportunities’ could have differed enormously. A few people might have been pressured into using the norms of the dominant culture/society as it allowed them to preserve and consolidate their status, economic resources and fulfil their aspirations (some of which were probably induced by the global and imperial discourses). But in a way, everybody created his/her own cultural identity, depending on their socioeconomic resources and possibilities.

Our archaeological and epigraphic record is the result of a multitude of processes, most of which had nothing to do with ‘Romanness’. People negotiated and expressed their own cultural identity by using a repertoire of artefacts, art, language (names, myths, histories) and so on that was at hand: these elements were manipulated by processes that we might call bricolage or creolisation, thus adapting and alienating them in order to suit personal or local cognitions. For us, the archaeological record might look superficially similar. But instead of wild generalisation on people’s *Romanitas*, we need to look out in each case for the particularities of artefact assemblages, rituals or iconographies, attempting to understand people’s discrepant identities and lifestyles.

Having examined the potential and real impact of the economic and physical intrusions and burdens imposed by Roman authorities on the local (indigenous) societies in Chapter 3, the subsequent Chapters 4 and 5 largely focus on people’s lives in the Principate. The aim is to examine to what extent individuals were integrated in a ‘unified’ Roman Italy and to what extent they participated in an imperial and global discourse that influenced their decisions and understandings under the *maiestas imperii Romani*. Integration and ideologies gave new vigour and motivational

force to behavioural and cultural models, shaping people's understandings and activities. This contrasts with the more spontaneous cultural adoptions that were alienated and adapted to suit local cognition, working within the autochthonous structures of local societies, discussed in Chapter 2. Chapter 5 examines how people expressed their identities and how they were involved in a web of social relationships within a community and across Italy. In this globalising world of the Principate, we can recognise an ongoing cultural debate. Much of our evidence focuses on élite activities, but we can also analyse the diverse identities, lifestyles and career options of the subaltern classes both in an urban and a rural context.

CHAPTER TWO



Discrepant Identities in the Republic

In the first century AD, we see the outcome of a long process at the end of which Northwest Italy resembled a typical Roman landscape with numerous towns, a supporting infrastructure and, wherever geographically feasible, a rigidly centuriated countryside. Urban centres with *fora*, *basilicae*, temples, theatres, amphitheatres and baths provided new social focus points for local communities. Most people seemed to participate in exchange mechanisms and social networks that spread across Italy and into neighbouring regions. Latin alphabet, language and onomastics dominate the epigraphic record, while material culture can barely be distinguished from other parts of Italy, with local forms having almost completely vanished from our records.

But this was by no means a unidirectional process. During the Republic, people continued to use their locally produced artefacts, traditional dress and symbols of power for almost 200 years after the battle of Clastidium in 222 BC. Even more, they expressed a much stronger local—or should we say ‘Celtic’—identity, seemingly contradicting Greco-Roman mentalities, like Celtic epigraphy and the abstract iconography of local coins. It is obvious that local cultures did not just ‘lag behind’ in a culture of ‘residual La Tène character’, as suggested by Arslan (1991, 464), but they were adapted to the changing environment, creating new objects and cultural elements that could be used to express one’s ‘Otherness’. We have to be cautious with the concept of ‘identity through Otherness’ (cf. Kistler 2009, 19), since identities were also created by other societal developments, like the development of new social groups and state-like structures. In Northwest Italy, the bipolarisation between ‘Romans’ and ‘natives’ is unconstructive. Though there were people who spoke a Celtic language, they were neither ‘Celts’ nor ‘Ligurians’; and certainly the

region was not a monolithic block (cf. Haeussler forthcoming). Instead, we seem to be dealing with a complex ethnic and cultural patchwork with enormous differences, regarding rituals, material culture, societal organisation and much more (cf. Haeussler 2007a).

The Republic shows that individuals—both élite and subélite—had a multitude of strategies to respond to Roman imperialism. Rome’s presence must have been clearly felt in Northwest Italy, not least because of the numerous military campaigns, deportations, massacres and enslavements (Table 2.1). But people experienced Roman imperialism very differently in the various regions: some people suffered from colonisation and expropriation, others profited from intensifying trade contacts. Yet for many people, Rome appears to have been at the margin of shaping cultural representations as most communities continued to use their ancestral habits. From c. 100 BC onwards, individuals seem to have experimented with new identities and status symbols, especially in a funerary context, suggesting the extent to which people’s lives must have been transformed.

It is therefore the aim here to analyse the complexities behind people’s identities and the diverse changes to societal patterns and cultural understandings. First of all, we have to look at sociocultural change from a long-term perspective (Section 2.1). It is important to understand the

Table 2.1 Historic events affecting Northwest Italy in the 4th–1st centuries BC

390/387 BC	Sack of Rome by the Gauls
283 BC	Foundation of Sena Gallica
268 BC	Foundation of Ariminum
222 BC	Battle of Clastidium
218 BC	Foundation of Cremona and Placentia
218–201	BC Second Punic War
196	Battle of Como
187 BC	Construction of <i>uia Aurelia</i>
177 BC	Foundation of Luna
147 BC	Construction of <i>uia Postumia</i>
125–123 BC	Fulvius Flaccus: construction of <i>uia Fulvia</i> and numerous <i>conciliabula</i>
100 BC	Foundation of Eporodia
91–88 BC	Social War
90 BC	Roman citizenship for <i>Cisalpini</i>
89 BC	<i>lex Pompeia</i> : grant of <i>ius Latii</i> to <i>Transpadani</i>
58–49 BC	Caesar—Governor of Gaul
49 BC	Roman citizenship for <i>Transpadani</i>
41 BC	End of provincial status
27 BC–AD 14	Principate of Augustus
25 BC	Defeat of Salassi; foundation of Augusta Praetoria
6 BC	<i>Tropaeum Augusti</i>
2 BC	Title <i>pater patriae</i> awarded to Augustus

North Italian Golasecca ‘culture’, as its evolution in the sixth and fifth centuries BC resembles very much the developments in the second and first centuries BC, notably regarding urbanisation, writing and commerce. Also, Golasecca-style rituals, artefacts and epigraphy persisted down to the first century BC, sometimes creating new La Tène-Golasecca syncretisms, which should make us also rethink the gravity of the so-called ‘Celtic invasion’ of the early fourth century BC, notably since La Tène artefacts remained rather patchy in Northwest Italy. Subsequently, we move on to a period after the Roman conquest and how Rome influenced endogenous developments (Sections 2.2–2.3). Status unilaterally defined by Rome also had cultural implications. The peace treaties originally denied many *Cisalpini* access to Roman citizenship (Section 2.4), while the grant of Latin rights and Roman citizenship between 89 and 49 BC (Section 2.5) made possible a more active participation in Italy-wide society, politics and economy. This did not result in a Roman identity, but the first century BC is characterised by discrepant and sometimes conflicting cultural identities which will be the focus of Sections 2.6 and 2.7.

2.1 CULTURAL IDENTITIES AT THE ‘EVE’ OF THE CONQUEST

When examining our area of study at the ‘eve’ of the conquest, we should avoid creating a dichotomy between the pre-Roman and the Roman periods. There are many developments that started long before the Roman conquest and which were revitalised in the Roman period, with some processes becoming more visible in our records. From the archaeology, we can roughly recognise three major periods in Northwest Italy between the sixth and the first centuries BC (cf. Table 2.2). The

Table 2.2 Iron Age periods in Northwest Italy (adapted from Gambari and Venturino Gambari 1987; Gambari 2004, 30).

BC	Transalpine Gaul	East Piedmont/Lombardy	Liguria and South Piedmont
500 BC	HA D 3	Golasecca II B	Ligurian II
450 BC	LT A	Golasecca III A 1 Golasecca III A 2 Golasecca III A 3	Ligurian III A
375 BC	LT B 1	LT Padano B 1	Ligurian III B 1
300 BC	LT B 2	LT Padano B 2	Ligurian III B 2
250 BC	LT C 1	LT Padano C 1	Ligurian III C
175 BC	LT C 2	LT Padano C 2	
125 BC	LT D1	LT Padano D1	
70 BC	LT D2	LT Padano D2	
27 BC	Principate		

notion of a pre-Celtic autochthonous Ligurian culture is dubious, while the ‘Celticity’ of Northwest Italy is mainly a linguistic phenomenon (the earliest Lepontic inscriptions in the seventh century BC already reflected a Celtic dialect). Between the sixth and fifth centuries BC, the climax of the Golasecca culture was closely related to the Etruscan expansion in the Po Valley; this was followed by a rupture (‘Celtic invasion’) and an increasing spread of La Tène artefacts across North Italy between the fourth and the first centuries BC. This, in turn, was followed by a period of increasing Roman social and cultural domination from the first century BC onwards. The Roman conquest in 222/194 BC itself does not mark the beginning of a new phase in the archaeological record: instead local material culture continued to evolve and dominate everyday life of the people in Northwest Italy.

The Golasecca Phenomenon

The Golasecca culture, named after a village on the Ticino River south of Lago Maggiore, is very important for our study, notably its expansion in the sixth and fifth centuries BC (cf. De Marinis 1977, 1981, 1986b–d, 1991; Ridgway 1979; Haeussler 2007a; Golasecca 2009). As we shall see, there were many comparable developments in the early Iron Age and the early Roman periods. These include urbanism, intensifying trade and status display and the rôle of external factors—the Etruscans and Romans respectively—as well as the many rituals, practices and artefacts that can still be identified in the second and first centuries BC.

Castelletto Ticino/Sesto Calende on the Lago Maggiore and Como on the Lago di Como are the two large central places of the ‘Golasecciani’—or should we say *Lepontii*, an ethnic label that was first associated with this area in the second century BC (Cato *Orig.* fr. 37; cf. De Marinis and Biaggio Simona 2000). The conventional term ‘proto-urban’ describes their formation out of a series of villages. And although deprived of monumental buildings, Como had acquired ‘dimensioni e caratteristiche di un centro urbano’ in the fifth century BC (De Marinis 1986b, 32), while Gambari (1993, 263) demonstrated the ‘completa e definitiva “urbanistica”’ of Castelletto Ticino with rectangular street grids and canalisation. These societies were highly stratified, with élites investing enormous resources in status display. At Castelletto Ticino, for example, a tomb was enclosed in a large *cassone di lastre* (c. 120 × 90cm) covered by a barrow (5m wide, 2.2m high and 20–30m long), similarly at San Bernardino di Briona (cf. Gambari 1986; 1987). In addition, writing was developed as early as the seventh century BC (Gambari and Colonna 1986); but people did not just copy the Etruscan alphabet, they modified it by introducing new letters necessary for writing a Celtic language.

Considering the continuity from the twelfth-century BC Canegrate culture down to the Golasecca culture in this area, one could suggest that we are dealing with a Celtic-speaking population throughout this period. Interestingly, we can also recognise a widening cultural gap between Como and the Lago Maggiore/Ticino area: writing, for example, was adopted first in Castelletto Ticino.

This already leads us to the crucial question of the rôle of exogenous factors in stimulating the social and cultural development of the Lepontii. The rôle of the Etruscans as cultural ‘trendsetters’ needs to be reassessed. It is generally assumed that the Etruscans were the major protagonists in opening up transalpine trade via the ‘Golasecca area’ (cf. Gambari 1991; Mandolesi 2009). Genoa, for example, is assumed to have been founded on the Ligurian coast in *c.* 525 BC to facilitate trade between Etruria and the Alpine passes. And along the Po Valley, we find Etruscan towns like Marzabotto, Felsina, Atria and Mantua (Malnati and Manfredi (eds) 1991) (many were refounded as ‘Roman’ towns in the third and second centuries BC). The distribution of Etruscan artefacts suggests that trade routes from Genoa and from the eastern Po Valley converged onto the Golasecca area: otherwise Etruscan finds are rather sparse in our area of study west of the Genoa-Golasecca axis. Villa del Foro could have been an Etruscan *emporion* in the sixth and fifth centuries BC (refounded as Forum Fulvii under the Romans *c.* 125 BC; cf. Gambari and Venturino Gambari 1982, 144–5; Venturino Gambari *et al.* 2010) and there is some limited Etruscan evidence from Asti and one Etruscan inscription from Busca (*CIL* V 917), perhaps suggesting a line of communication towards the Western Alps, perhaps similar to the later *uia Fulvia*.

Castelletto Ticino and Como play a crucial rôle in the transalpine ‘trade’ in this period (De Marinis 1991). If we insert the available evidence in a traditional centre-periphery model, placing the Etruscan towns at the centre and Golasecca at the periphery, then Etruscan demand for imports may have stimulated Golaseccan communities to produce a surplus and intensify transalpine trade. Gambari (1989b) also suggests that cultural features deriving from the ‘Golasecca world’ were probably diffused and redistributed by Etruscan commerce.

But it is very important not to attribute a passive rôle to the ‘Lepontii’. Instead it could have been them who actively expanded their Transalpine trade contacts: it even seems possible that these people ‘controlled’—if not ‘monopolised’—the trade route via the Simplon pass rather than other Alpine passes. The ‘Etruscans’ would not have had an interest in trading exclusively with Como and Castelletto Ticino. It even appears that these two centres provided two distinct economic and social entities. The ‘Lepontii’ did not merely imitate Etruscan culture, and the artefact assemblages suggest that locally produced prestige goods remained very

important. People in the Golasecca region might have been negotiating their place in an ‘Etruscan world’, but individuals clearly emphasised their own identities. Artefacts, for example, were often alienated: Etruscan pottery was barely employed as tableware in the Golasecca context, but it was used as funerary urns for cremated remains (Casini 1988, 39). Rather than seeing the Etruscans as major protagonists in opening up Transalpine markets, one could alternatively emphasise the active rôle of the Golaseccan people in this development, leading among other things to a certain monopolisation of Transalpine trade (Haeussler 2000). This is why the spread of Golasecca artefacts beyond the original area in this period is that significant: though we can see a spread of Etruscan artefacts across North Italy, we also need an explanation why Golaseccan objects were exchanged on such a large scale.

For example, the presence of Golaseccan artefacts along the trade-routes via the Lomellina and the Scrivia valleys to Genoa of Po and Scrivia in the sixth and fifth centuries BC could be interpreted as an indicator for a Golasecca-dominated exchange system. The increasingly sumptuous display of power in central places like Castelletto Ticino had to be financed, for example by stepping up trade. Moreover, the Golaseccan cemeteries in the Lomellina—a region between the Ticino and Po rivers—might reflect forms of political expansion in the sixth and fifth centuries BC: perhaps this expansion into the agriculturally rich Po Valley was also necessary to secure the food supply for the large agglomerations on the Lakes.

It seems that the transalpine ‘trade’ was the basis for the Golasecca expansion (cf. De Marinis 1991). Perhaps this trade was necessary to finance the increasingly expensive élite display and the import of luxury products from Etruria and Transalpine Gaul. Access to exchange patterns, control of wealth accumulation and status display are factors that would have needed to be restrained in the hope of not unbalancing the existing sociopolitical balance: this is what seems to have happened in a post-conquest Roman scenario in the second century BC, but not in the sixth and fifth centuries BC. Perhaps the élites of the Golasecca region made themselves increasingly dependent on the steady import of luxury objects, until, after two centuries, this socioeconomic system could no longer be maintained, resulting in the abandonment of the proto-urban sites like Castelletto Ticino. The numerous Golasecca artefacts that we find on either side of the Alps could have been ‘diplomatic gifts’, as suggested by Adam and Verger (2009, 110f), reflecting a complex network among aristocracies further consolidated by an ‘exchange’ of women into allied territories. It seems that certain common cultural representations were created in this region that were not a focus on the culture of Etruscan cities.

Instead of a culture clash between ‘Etruscans’ and ‘Golasecchiani’, we see above all endogenous developments that created an increasingly stratified ‘Lepontic’ society and an increasing number of people acquiring wealth, thus the need to display one’s status, also by using new and more elaborate media, like epigraphy and conspicuous display of wealth in a funerary context (e.g. cremations, grave mounds, etc.). Pre-existing cultural perceptions clearly survived and adoptions mainly took place within autochthonous sociocultural patterns, adapted to be understood by a local audience and not as a sign of adherence or submission to Etruscan cultural dominance. But by making use of the emerging Etruscan settlements in the Po Valley, the élites of the Golasecca region might have become increasingly reliant on the regular import of luxury objects. This resulted in the abandonment of Golasecca necropoleis and proto-urban sites in a period which witnessed the spread of material culture—and probably people—associated with Transalpine La Tène culture throughout North Italy, though many cultural features of the sixth and fifth centuries BC survived.

Discrepant ‘Celtic’ Identities in Northwest Italy

Now these Celti are indeed of the same people as the Transalpine Celti.
(Strabo 5.1.4[212])

This leads us to the so-called Celtic invasion (cf. Frey 1971; Pauli 1980, 231; Wernicke 1991; Williams 2001) and the question of the ‘Celticity’ of Northwest Italy. This invasion is dated to 396 BC by Pliny (NH 3.21, 12.5) and to 388 BC by Livy (5.33) (also cf. Polybios 2.17–19; Plut. *Cam.* 15). This is of course a very important event in the memory of Rome and its allies since the sack of Rome by the Celts in 387 BC created the idea of a constant threat of the *terror Gallici* (Livy 10.26.13; Polybios 2.13.5–7; 21.6ff; 23.7ff; Pompeius Trogus 24.4.6–7; 25.2.9–10: ‘the terror of the Gallic name’). This Gallic threat was used to legitimise Rome’s brutal conquest of Cisalpine Gaul, starting with the battle of Sentino in 295 BC (Livy 10.27), driving out the Senones (Polybios 2.19) and founding the first colony Sena Gallica in 283 BC. Greco-Roman authors also attributed a Transalpine origin to many of the North Italian peoples which would prove migration into Italy, like the Libici originating from the Salluvii (Pliny NH 3.17: *Vercellae Libiciorum ex Salluis ortae*), the Vertacomacori from the Vocontii, the Bagienni from the Caturiges, the Insubres from the Aedui; the Salassi are Taurisci for Cato (Pliny NH 3.134), but Saluvii for Strabo (4.180, 184) and Livy (31.38.5).

Gallo-Lepontic texts and typical Transalpine La Tène funerary rituals suggest however that small-scale migrations across the Alps must have taken place for many generations long before the fourth century BC (cf. Gambari 1995). And already from the twelfth century BC onwards, with the Canegrate culture, there was an intense exchange across the Alps with people using Transalpine objects as status symbols: in addition, the Lepontic inscriptions indicate that people spoke a Celtic dialect in Northwest Italy from the seventh century BC (Conway *et al.* 1933; Lejeune 1971, 1988; Gambari and Colonna 1986). But from the fourth century BC, there were not only more La Tène artefacts south of the Alps than ever before, they were also associated with numerous inhumation burials that had been previously unknown in our area of study (*v. infra*).

Whether large-scale invasion occurred or not, there certainly was a rupture across North Italy in the early fourth century BC. Exchange mechanisms were severely disrupted, thus plunging most of the region into an archaeological ‘dark age’ with only few datable artefacts and sites. The large settlements like Castelletto Tinico were abandoned, as were many smaller sites, like Villa del Foro and Libarna, whose prosperity was probably related to trade, but trade was declining radically in the fourth century. The number of luxurious imports decreased and simultaneously Golasecca artefacts were once again limited to the original heartland between Ticino and Como (cf. De Marinis 1977, fig. 2; Venturino Gambari 1987). Also in the Ligurian Apennines, we find an ‘impoverishment’ of sites in the plains, as many people moved to small, sometimes fortified, hilltop sites, such as Rossiglione, Vigana or Cassine. Many of these emerged around 400 BC, not to defend against Celtic invaders (there is no evidence for ‘Celtic’ immigrants in the region), but probably as a result of the changing socioeconomic conditions that might have created unstable times. The large number of fortified ‘castella’ in Liguria indicates a different situation than the one described by Polybius (2.17) for the Transpadana and the eastern Po Valley whose people ‘lived in open villages (κατὰ κώμας ἀτειχίστους) without any permanent buildings’.

But change was not as radical as has generally been assumed. It has become commonplace to take Livy’s statement of the Celtic invasion as an hypothesis and then argue about local variations: for example De Marinis (1988b, 183) focuses our attention on the year 388 BC as the date of the Celtic invasion only to conclude that its impact was hardly felt in the case of the Etruscan city of Mantua; similarly, Etruscans and Celts lived happily together at Monte Bibele (cf. Guidi 2002). La Tène artefacts dominate in the Po Valley, especially La Tène brooches, pottery and weaponry. Brooches (i.e. dress) and weaponry were probably important indicators for group identities and men’s function in society. But La Tène

artefacts remain extremely rare in the Northwest compared to Lombardy and the eastern Po Valley (Peyre 1979; Piana Agostinetti 1990; cf. Brìc San Vito di Pecetto, a recently studied La Tène hilltop site of the early fourth century BC just east of Turin which Gambari (2008, 142) associated with a group of ‘Galli invasori’). Instead, local ‘cultures’ survived and evolved, often creating new ‘syncretised cultures’. For example, Golasecca-style artefacts and funerary practices not only persisted, but the cognitions behind them also had a strong motivational force on the local people regardless of their ethnic origin. Similarly, Lepontic epigraphy continued and flourished, spreading into the Po Valley and to Umbria (*v. infra*) as well as to the Ligurian coast (cf. Giacomelli 1977, 69, fig. 4). South of the Po, the ‘Ligurian culture’ also persisted down to the first century BC with cremations in a stone box (*cassetta litica*), conical buttons (*bottoni conici*) of female dress and the pottery with *unghiate* and (later) *zig-zag* decorations (cf. Gambari and Venturino Gambari 1987). Altogether, it seems that people created their own identity by taking up diverse cultural elements, like changing from ‘Celtic’ inhumation to ‘indigenous’/‘Golasecca’ cremation because it was considered a more elaborate ritual that required more resources (*v. infra*).

In this respect, a number of Iron Age cemeteries provide food for thought. In each cemetery, La Tène rituals and artefacts were ‘combined’ with pre-existing local rituals and artefacts, creating very localised particularities. One of the earliest cemeteries after the ‘Celtic invasion’ is Ameglia, dating to the late fourth century BC, situated near the mouth of the Magra River near the, then, future Roman colony Luna at the southeastern corner of Liguria (cf. Durante 1982 (1985), 2004; Maggiani *et al.* 2004; Gervasini 2007 forthcoming). Here, at the southeastern corner of Liguria, the large number of La Tène grave goods seems surprising, allowing us to re-think our interpretative models. There is an array of La Tène weaponry at Ameglia: typology and ornamental decoration of these helmets and swords are well-known from Transalpine contexts (cf. Vitali 1982), such as the sword from Tomb 22 with a decoration of two imaginary animals in a ‘heraldic’ position on the sheath (cf. Durante and Massari 1984, fig. 17; Peyre 1982, 78, plate II 7). And in a typical Transalpine funerary ritual, the weaponry was also ritually destroyed, probably to remove them from the world of the living: swords, for example, were bent several times. This opens up a series of questions: why do we find La Tène objects and rituals so far south on the Ligurian coast? Is this evidence for Celtic immigration or the adoption of a Celtic identity by the local people, the Ligurian Apuani?

If people wanted to display their ‘Celtic’ identity, then we would probably expect to find more La Tène artefacts besides weapons and brooches. Instead, people’s cultural identity is made up from artefacts

from across the Mediterranean. For example, there are South Etruscan overpainted *skyphoi*, black-glaze ware from North Etruria (cf. Pianu 1982), wine amphorae from Marseille and Central Italy (showing the rôle of the banquet or symposium), and female dress items of Tusco-Latin origin. Most importantly, the 54 burials reflect a typical ‘Ligurian’ practice: cremation burials, placed in a *cassetta litica* (Figure 2.1), similar to the cremations in *cassetta litica* in the early Iron Age cemetery of Chiavari in Liguria.

We have to take care not to over-interpret the finds from Ameglia. For example, if we look at Como’s cemetery Ca’Morto, we also see how diverse cultural elements were combined in one context at the height of the Golasecca culture. In Tomb 8, for example, local products were combined with high-prestige objects, such as an iron sword with anthropoid handle in Transalpine tradition and a bronze helmet of Negau type, presumably a local production of an Italo-Etruscan helmet of the fifth century BC (De Marinis 1986d). These objects are not indicators of an Etruscan or Transalpine allegiance or identity. They above all reflect Como’s important rôle in the Transalpine trade route between the Po Valley and the Alps. Cultural identity was expressed by using objects that were available (i.e. bricolage), serving to signify the deceased’s status, not his or her ethnic identity.



Figure 2.1 ‘Cassetta litica’ tombs from the pre-Roman cemetery of Ameglia-Cafaggio.¹

But the case of Ameglia is more complex. How does the typically 'Celtic' destruction of grave goods fit the use of characteristically Italic and Ligurian funerary rituals? Is the latter merely a personal choice to use more elaborate funerary rituals? And if the weaponry only signifies prestige objects, then we would not expect to recognise aspects of social or military organisation from the sets (e.g. spearhead, spearhead-sword, spearhead-sword-helmet; also cf. Martin-Kilcher 1998 for similar sets at Ornavasso and Schumacher 1989 for Wederath-Belginum). How can we explain the combination of male La Tène brooches and female Tusco-Latin dress? Are we dealing with male immigrants marrying local women or perhaps a deliberate segregation of male and female identities? Perhaps the most likely scenario is that Celtic immigrants came to Ameglia because the port provided an important link between the Po Valley and the Mediterranean trade network, making it possible to by-pass Genoa: immigrants and locals then created their local identities with the rituals and artefacts that were available to them.

Though a different setting from Ameglia, the cemetery of Dormelletto also shows how very localised 'cultures' were created during the late Iron Age by adopting more and more local characteristics that resemble those known from the local Golasecca culture. With its 52 graves from the third to the first century BC, Dormelletto was situated in close vicinity to the, then, abandoned proto-urban site of Castelletto Ticino. In its earliest phase (La Tène C), it is a type example for a La Tène cemetery (cf. Spagnolo Garzoli 1988a; 1990–1991; 2009). Besides its material culture, the funerary ritual consists of Hallstatt-like burial constructions, which are also known from the La Tène period, for example at Vilvenard in Champagne. As pointed out by Spagnolo Garzoli (1988a) this reflects 'un rito funerario totalmente estraneo all'ambiente golasecciano locale' in regard to both ritual and material and may therefore indicate the presence of people originating from Transalpine Gaul. But in the subsequent phase, the local people made very different choices. La Tène-style inhumations continued down to the first century BC: but by the end of the second century BC Golasecca-style cremations, similar to those found at cemeteries of the Lomellina (cf. Chapter 2.7), had become increasingly common. During excavations in 2006, a second-century BC funerary stele was discovered with a figurative representation (similar to the 'têtes coupées' from Transalpine Gaul) and a Lepontic text with clearly Celtic onomastics: *komeuios | kalatiknlos*, 'Comevios, son of Calatos/Galata' (Gambari 2007).

Among the typical La Tène grave goods of this period is the locally produced *vasi a trottola*—wine vessels that were common to Lombardy, the Ticino Valley and the Lago Maggiore, which started to circulate in the Val d'Ossola and the neighbouring canton Ticino as early as La Tène C

(cf. Piana Agostinetti 1990, 172, fig. 16 for distribution pattern). The geographical location of the necropolis implies a more restricted access to trade: the archaeological record is therefore mainly limited to locally produced pottery and few imports, like the sporadic presence of black-glaze ware (*vernice nera*). Weaponry is only attested in the later cremation tombs (Tombs 18, 21 and 35 with lances, shield bosses or knives) and the development of a bi-ritual, similar to the Cenomani, does not seem unlikely. At the risk of oversimplification, we see cremation for men, inhumation for woman and children (cf. De Marinis 1977; 1986a, 134–5). People may have chosen cremation because it was a more elaborate ritual that involved more resources and the public performance of more complex rituals: this may also explain the continued—or rather increasing—popularity of the *cassetta litica* tombs in Northwest Italy.

Despite the rarity of La Tène artefacts in Liguria, a brooch from Serravalle Scrivia suggests that there was, however small, an ongoing cultural debate with La Tène art. The fibula's arch consists of the schematic representation of a human face, which would be typical of La Tène art. But in this case, the human head was on the actual arch of the brooch (Figure 2.2). This specific case can be interpreted as a local Ligurian production, combining Insubrian art forms with a Central European La Tène *Maskenfibel* on a fibula type widely attested in

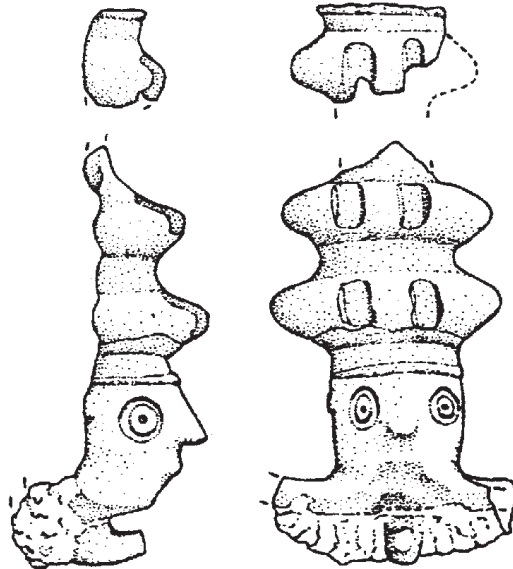


Figure 2.2 A local cultural debate with La Tène art: brooch with human head from Libarna (end of the third century BC: Venturino Gambari 1987, fig. 9.1).¹

Libarna: it shows a craftsman engaging with various cultural traditions (cf. Venturino Gambari 1987, 24, fig. 9, 1; Pastorino and Venturino Gambari 2008, 82–3).

Strabo's 'Celto-Ligurians'

Ameglia and Dormelletto are only two examples to show the cultural bricolage by which people used artefacts and rituals of La Tène, Gola-secca and Ligurian origin. This cultural 'mixture' might already have given rise to confusion in antiquity:

As for the Alps . . . many tribes (*éthnê*) occupy these mountains, all Celtic (*keltikà*) except the Ligurians; but while these Ligurians belong to a different people (*hetero-ethneis*), still they are similar to the Celts in their modes of life (*bíois*).

(Strabo 2.5.28)

Strabo seems to state that the Ligurians are a different *ethnos*, but that they have the same lifestyle as the Celts; hence he coins the term 'Celto-Ligurian' (Strabo 4.6.3). Greco-Roman writers generally found it difficult to make clear ethnic identifications. The Taurini, for instance, have been equally defined as Ligurians (Pliny *NH* 3.128; Strabo 4.6.6; Livy 5.34.8), Celts (Polybius 2.15.8; 28.4; 30.6) and *semigalli* (Livy 21.38).

But who exactly were the Ligurians? For some people, they are an indigenous, autochthonous, pre-Celtic people who inhabited the entire area between Etruria and the Iberian Peninsula (cf. Bats and Tréziny 1986; Levi 1987; De Marinis 1988; Bertinelli 1999; De Marinis and Spadea 2004). Under Augustus, the region between the Mediterranean coast and the Po Valley became the *regio IX Liguria* (Pliny *NH* 3.46–138); but the term was also employed for *ethnoi* north of the Po, like the Taurini and Lepontii. From the available evidence, the existence of a Ligurian *ethnos* or culture is however extremely doubtful (cf. Vedaldi Iasbez 2000; Morandi 2003; Garcia 2004, 13–25). Both archaeologically and linguistically, the distinction between Celts and Ligurians does not seem to be significant. Onomastic and toponomastic evidence from Liguria is Celtic (Delamarre 2003), and the 'Ligurian culture' identified by Gambari and Venturino Gambari (1987) is largely limited to pottery fragments and conical buttons. Moreover, the term Ligurian, first employed by Hecateus (c. 500 BC) for Massalia's indigenous neighbours (*Timaëus* 56), cannot reflect people's self-identity since *ligures* is a Greek pejorative term equivalent to 'barbarian' as Arnaud (2001) has shown. It is therefore no surprise that many Greek accounts, like Poseidonios (*FGrH* 87 F 58a), are mythical and ethnographic (cf. semi-mythical

account by Justinus 43.3.13; 43.4.9; 43.5.1). Though stressing their virtues and physical force, many of the Roman accounts are negative and focus on their shiftiness and deceitfulness—‘like a true Ligurian, born to cheat’ (Verg. *Aen.* 11.690)—especially those written during the second-century conquest period (e.g. Cato *Orig.* fr. 31 HRR).

The distinction between Ligurian and Celtic/Gaulish does not seem to mirror any pre-Roman ethnicities; but external creations by Greeks and Romans who noticed that the term ‘Ligurian’ was already in use prior to the Celtic invasion, thus assumed that the so-called Ligurians were the indigenous people and the Celts the ‘newcomers’. All in all, it appears that Northwest Italy consisted of a complex ethnic patchwork (Figure 2.3). However, ethnic names are primarily known from Greco-Roman authors, like Cato, Polybius, Livy and Pliny (cf. Williams 2001, 19–35; Lomas 2007; Haeussler forthcoming). Some of these names, like those only mentioned once or twice, may only have existed for a short time: this may reflect short-lived identities that were constantly reinvented; but some names may also reflect Roman confusion about peoples’ self-definition.

In addition, many ethnic names were probably only developed in Roman times: identities may have been shaped and forged in response to Roman imperialism, both in the periods of warfare and conquest and subsequently by Roman administrative measures (notably municipalisation),

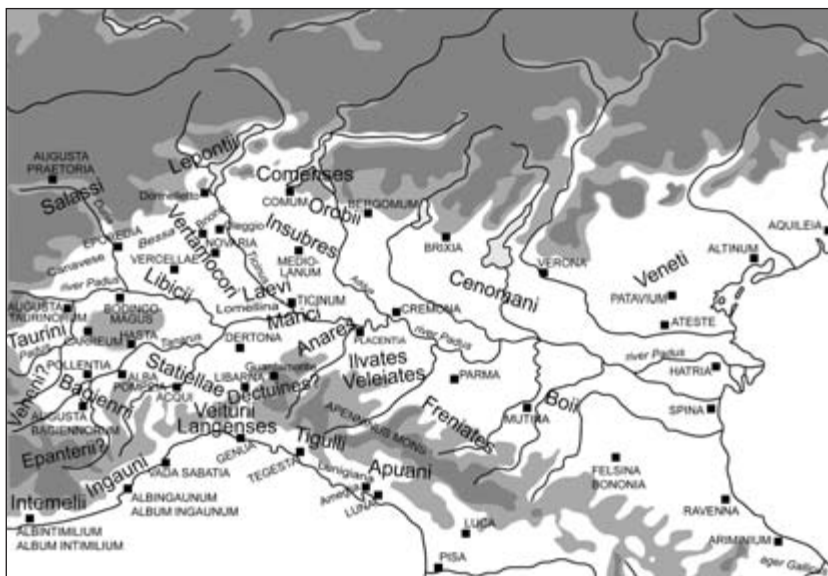


Figure 2.3 Ethnic names of Celts and Ligurians attested in Northwest Italy (after Haeussler forthcoming; map: author).

initiating and catalysing processes of ethnogenesis by which a social group demarcated themselves as ethnically distinct (Hill 1996). Only a few ethnic labels seem to have survived into the Principate, primarily those that had become part of municipal identities (e.g. Ingaunii for Albium Ingaunum/Albingaunum; Statielli for Aquae Statiellae). The creation of Augustus's *regio IX Liguria* does however institutionalise the term 'Liguria': as a result, the inhabitants of this *regio*, including descendents of colonists, might have identified themselves with this ethnic label in the Principate.

Cultural Coherence in Pre-Roman Times?

What does it all mean for the pre-Roman period? The case of Ameglia has already cast doubt on the existence of a coherent Ligurian or Celtic culture. In many sites in Liguria—between the Po and Mediterranean Sea—La Tène artefacts and rituals do not play any significant rôle, while the number of Italo-Roman or Marseillese imports (*vernice nera*, amphorae, etc.) seems equally limited. We should bear in mind that our archaeological evidence provides a distorted view. In Liguria, we are mainly dealing with settlements, while in the Transpadana we primarily deal with funerary sites where La Tène and Italo-Roman can usually be found as grave goods as symbols of status (apart from Ameglia, the number of known Iron Age cemeteries in Liguria has increased in recent years; cf. e.g. at Alba and in the territory of the Statielli at Montabone, De Marchi and Piroto 2004; Venturino Gambari *et al.* 2009; Venturino Gambari and Roncaglio 2010).

But is it possible that people in Liguria escaped the Celtic 'fashion' (term used by Williams 2001, 199) of the fourth to first centuries BC? In this respect, the hilltop site of Guardamonte (modern parish of Gremiasco) is another interesting site because it was occupied from the early Iron Age down to the first two centuries AD (cf. Lo Porto 1957; Chiaramonte Treré 2004). Guardamonte is situated close to important transportation arteries: east of the Scrivia Valley and just south of the Po Valley near the hilltop site of Vigana (fourth to first centuries BC) (cf. Venturino Gambari 1982). It is therefore no surprise that Guardamonte's inhabitants played an important rôle in the 'trade' between the people in the Ticino Valley and Genoa between the sixth and fifth centuries BC as shown by finds of Etruscan bucchero and Certosa-type fibulae as well as Golasecca-style brooches, while the local material culture resembles those of neighbouring 'Ligurian' sites in the Apennines (such as Bec Bercissa): the first half of the fifth century BC seems to have been the period of 'maggiore vitalità' (Chiaramonte Treré 2004, 231). But after the alleged Celtic invasion, Guardamonte seem to have remained relatively untouched by the, then common, La Tène

objects between the fourth and the first centuries BC with only one La Tène artefact: a silver spiral ring. A rampart only built in the first half of the third century BC, dated by a fragment of a *skyphos* of Campanian A pottery, also documents renewed or continued trade relations. Indeed, local imitations of this precious black-glaze ware were found all along the north-south trade from Genoa through the Scrivia Valley (e.g. at Vigana in the Curone Valley, cf. Venturino Gambari 1982; Panto (ed) 1993), whose inhabitants continued to act as mediators between the Mediterranean and the La Tène-dominated Po Valley, as in previous periods. The rôle of the Scrivia Valley and the later town of Libarna is exemplified by the Etruscan *oinochoe* in overpainted black-glaze ware from Serravalle Scrivia (Figure 2.4; cf. Gambari 1987, 19, fig. 4), which is a typical representative of the *Gruppo del Fantasma* (c. 350–275 BC; cf. Pianu 1982), whose pottery was also found in Genoa, and was widely distributed along the South Etrurian coast (Tuscany) in the second half of the fourth century BC.

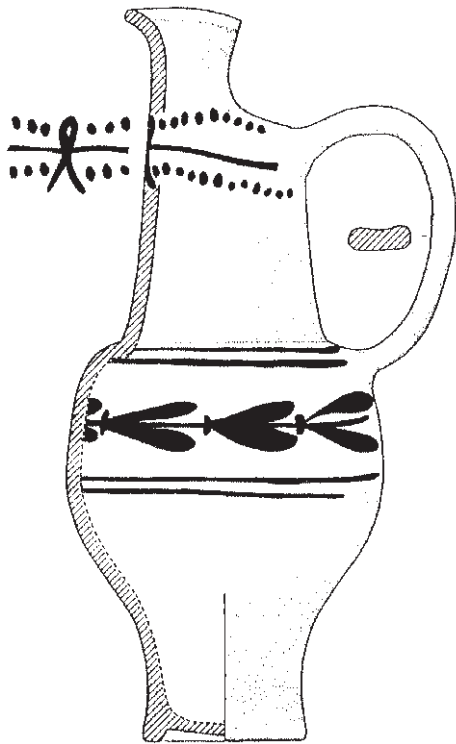


Figure 2.4 *Oinochoe* in overpainted black-glaze ware from Libarna, c. fourth century BC (Venturino Gambari 1987, fig. 4).¹

Guardamonte and the other settlements in Northwest Italy document at least two major characteristics. First, Northwest Italy was far from being isolated at the eve of the Roman conquest. Though exchange was generally disrupted in the early fourth century BC, it was already picking up in the fourth and third centuries BC, leading to the use of coinage and Lepontic epigraphy (*v. infra*) as well as to some sites acquiring proto-urban characteristics, like Libarna (cf. Venturino Gambari 1987). Visible to us is the import of Campanian black-glaze ware—an item which was not a novelty in the Roman period. Second, La Tène objects and rituals remained surprisingly marginal in shaping people's behaviour in Liguria, even in the sites along the trade route from Genoa to the Po Valley (also cf. Capuis 1994 for 'Celticity' in Venetia). Even north of the river Po, people renegotiated their identities by a process of bricolage, using elements from different cultural origins that were available to them. Some of these cultural choices would persist down to the first century BC, like the *cassetta litica* cremations and the *vaso a trottola*. We cannot talk about 'Celts' or 'Ligurians', but there was a patchwork of cultural expressions in Northwest Italy. Some communities developed state-like structures, while notably in the Ligurian Apennines we find many small-scale societies. The many ethnic labels reported by Greco-Roman authors were probably short-lived and might therefore only reflect the situation as it appeared to the Romans at the time of conquest. All this has implications for the Roman period: people would experience the Roman conquest very differently due to these enormous regional variations. It is also a problem for our evidence: in Liguria where our evidence is limited to small settlements and fragments of locally produced potsherds, local material cultures would have (appeared to) 'overwhelmed' by 'Italo-Roman' products; but this could not be taken to indicate people's Roman identity.

2.2 THE DESTRUCTIVENESS OF THE ROMAN CONQUEST

Rome's conquest of Cisalpine Gaul was brutal. In the case of the Senones and the Boii, one might even speak of genocide with the Romans creating a tabula rasa that allowed the creation of a new colonial landscape (cf. Purcell 1990; Williams 2001). There are similar reports of mass killing, enslavement and deportation for our area. Livy (33.36), for example, reports that during Marcellus's conquest of Como 'over 40,000 men were killed in that battle'. And he continues: 'Here was a striking instance of the way in which passion stimulates courage, for the Romans were so determined to kill rather than simply to win a victory that they left hardly a man alive to carry the news of the battle' (33.37). It is therefore even more surprising that the Roman conquest itself did not

inflict major cultural change in Northwest Italy. In Gaul and Britain, the Roman conquests in the 50's BC and in AD 43 respectively seems to have had a much more immediate effect, resulting in visible changes in material culture, rituals, lifestyle and urbanisation. But this does not mean that conquest under Caesar or Claudius was more violent than in the Republic. Rather the opposite is true. In theory, the Roman war machine could have caused the destruction of an entire community by inflicting enslavement, deportation and death. In contrast to the actual battle, it was the post-war Roman impositions, especially expropriations and *tributum* (i.e. the supply of troops), that had the potential to destroy the indigenous power base and unbalance existing social hierarchies. For the local élites, this may have meant that their only choice of political and social survival would have been the unconditional integration into the Roman power structures. But as we shall see, this was not the case in Northwest Italy between the third and early first centuries BC.

We therefore need to understand the impact of conquest and the structures that were set in place in its aftermath. In Northwest Italy they seem to have made possible a persistence of local cultures and the emergence of strong local identities, perhaps as a clear statement of Otherness. If we want to examine the restrictions and choices open to the local people, we need to understand the ways in which the conquest created dependencies on Rome in the Republic. It was common that cities and people fell completely under Rome's rule (*potestas*), be it by conquest and occupation or by *deditio*, as in the case of Scipio acquiring 80 *ciuitates* in post-Hannibalic Iberia in 209/208 BC (Orosius 4.18.7): *ciuitates aut deditione aut bello in potestatem redegit*. The Latin term *deditio* describes the process whereby a sovereign state—faced with imminent defeat—surrendered voluntarily (*sua uoluntate*) (Polybios 20.9.10–12: *deditio in potestatem* or *deditio in fidem*), implying an appeal to Rome's benevolence in the hope of avoiding the consequences of military occupation (Dahlheim 1968, 5–67; Nörr 1989). *Deditio* resulted in the legal destruction of the surrendered people who relinquished their territory, their deities and their personal rights to Rome's discretion (cf. a bronze tablet from Alcántara containing the protocol of a *deditio* from 10 BC: Nörr 1989). Both conquest and *deditio* gave Rome the right to enslave, slaughter and dispossess whole populations. There are instances in Roman history of exemplary punishment after a *deditio*. For example, in the case of Capua in 212 BC when the city was destroyed, its people expropriated and the land reorganised in *pagi* (Livy 26.16.8–9; Cic. *Leg. agr.* 2.88). Hence, exceptional cases exist when warfare itself needs to be considered as an important component for sociocultural change by causing considerable disruption to existing societal patterns, for example if populations

virtually become wiped out. But these measures can also be counter-productive for the conquerors as they do not necessarily stimulate the subsequent integration of the surviving population.

There are distinctly different approaches of Roman consuls in the conquest of Cisalpine Gaul. In the eastern Po Valley, we can recognise a systematic conquest aimed at imposing a new order which could never threaten Rome again. The Senones were not only defeated, but are also said to have been expelled (Polyb. 2.19). The confiscated territory, the so-called *ager Gallicus*, was divided according to the *lex Flaminia* (232 BC after Polyb. 2.17.7; 228 BC for Cic. *Cat.* 11; for confiscation and land-distribution, cf. Livy 42.4.3–4; 36.38.5–7; 39.3–4; 40.1–4; Pliny *NH* 15.116). The *uia Flaminia* from Rome to Ariminum was constructed in 220 BC. The neighbouring Boii fought against Rome from 283/2 to 224 BC (Polyb. 2.20–2.21.6; 27–31; Cic. *Leg. agr.* 1.19, 2.88; Diodorus 25.13; Livy 20, 26.16; Pliny *NH* 3.115–116; Zonaras 8.18; 20). With their land being confiscated (Livy 32–36), there followed an intensive colonisation and centuriation along the *uia Aemilia* (187 BC): colonies included Bononia (189 BC), Mutina (183 BC) and Parma (183 BC) and Placentia (218, 190 BC), in addition to numerous *fora* and *conciliabula*, such as Forum Livii (188 BC), Forum Popilii (132 BC), Forum Cornelii, Forum Gallorum, Forum Druentinarum, Forum Novum, Forum Licinii (168 BC), Forum Regium Lepidi (185 BC). Further land redistribution and settlements followed on the *uia Flaminia minor* (187 BC), *uia Postumia* (147 BC), *uia Popilia* (132 BC) and the *uia Aemilia Scauri* (109 BC) (cf. Fraccaro 1957c; Brunt 1971; Radke 1973; Tozzi 1989; 1999; for the course of the *uia Aemilia Scauri*, cf. Venturino Gambari, Crosetto, and Pistarino 2010).

All this did not allow much scope for the previous inhabitants to continue their traditional way of life in the lower Po Valley. The demographic development gives a different aspect to the word *cultural change* for an area where previous societies were virtually ‘wiped out’ by large-scale slaughter, enslavement and deportation followed by the large-scale immigration of settlers and colonists of Central and South Italian origin. In the case of the Boii, the local population was practically replaced by Roman colonists if we believe the literary sources (Strabo 5.1.6; 5.1.9). The actual scale of emigration is difficult to assess. Brunt (1971) doubts the idea of an exodus of the Boii in 189 BC and it can be convincingly argued that at least some Boii remained in the Po Valley as second-class citizens (Williams 2001). Indeed, we should not ignore the possibility that the idea of the exodus was a Roman construction to justify the reoccupation of their lands, similar to modern constructions: we may recall the idea of ‘free land’ for settlers in North America, produced by land surveyors based on different concepts of property, thus dispossessing the indigenous population by a colonial discourse (cf. e.g. O’Brien 1997).

Livy's image (42.4.3–4) that the land of Ligurians and Gauls was 'vacant', legitimated large-scale colonisation and land distribution with most of the plains being centuriated, notably in the Po Valley (for centuriation, cf. Schmiedt 1989).

In our area of study, Rome's approaches were very diverse. For 233 BC, Polybius (2.32) reports that 'the Insubrian chiefs, seeing that nothing could change the determination of the Romans to destroy them, determined that they had better try their fortune by a great and decisive battle.' This led first to the battle of Talamone in 225 BC and then the defeat of the Insubrians in the battle of Clastidium in 222 BC. The Romans founded the colonies of Placentia and Cremona in 218 BC to control the Insubres (Polyb. 3.40.5; Tac. *Hist.* 3.34). Having defected to Hannibal, the reconquest (201–194 BC) was concluded by the battles of Como in 196 BC (Livy 33.36) and the battles of Placentia and Mutina in 194 BC (Polyb. 2.17f; Livy 21–34). But despite the conquests, Rome's physical presence on Insubrian territory would remain very patchy down to the first century BC.

Instead, Rome focused its attention south of the Po. Since the Punic Wars, Rome had a strong interest in Liguria in controlling the flow of people and goods to its new Spanish dominions—both along the Ligurian coast and inland across the Alps. Rome already had a close relationship with Genoa, having liberated it from Carthaginian control in 203 BC. In 177 BC, Rome founded the colony of Luna near the earlier Iron Age cemetery of Ameglia (*v. supra*), where the mouth of the river Magra provided an important harbour (Livy 40.43.1; Frova 1973). But beyond the coast, Rome had difficulties in establishing control, resulting in numerous campaigns during the second century BC. For example, in 197 BC the Ilvates were subjugated in the area between the Apennines, Placentia and Regium (Livy 32.29.7; 31.4; 31.10.2). Livy's account on the Apuani (around Ameglia and Luna) is more detailed due to their prolonged military resistance—resulting in the transfer of 47,000 people from the upper Macra near Pisa to Samnium *c.* 180–179 BC where two settlements perpetuate the memory of the Ligurians: Ligures Baebiani, situated 15 miles north of Beneventum (*ordo et populus Ligurum Baebiano*: CIL IX 1466; 1485), and the still unlocated Ligures Corneliani (Livy 40.38; 40.41; Pliny *NH* 3.105; cf. Barigazzi 1991; Torelli 2004).

The Statielli (*Statiellenses* in Cic. *Fam.* 11.11; *Statelli* in CIL III 853) who occupied the valley of the Orba (*Urbo*), the lower Bormida and the Belbo, were subdued between 179 and 172 BC. In 173 BC, their town Carsystus was besieged, and 10,000 Ligurians and 3,000 Roman soldiers were killed: the survivors were disarmed, their town demolished and the people and all their property sold. The Senate however overruled this decision, considering it an outrage, and ordered the consul Marcus

Popilius to restore their freedom, their homes and their arms (Livy 42.7–8). The Senate's resolution to restore to freedom the Statielli because they had not been enemies since 179 BC, implies that they were considered *amici* and probably *socii* (Giorcelli Bersani 1994, 111–3). Yet, instead of their old properties, they were given land *trans Padum* (Livy 42.22), though it is impossible to tell in which part of the Transpadana (Luraschi 1981; Giorcelli Bersani 1994, 117).

On this side of the Apennines there had been the Garuli, the Lapicini and the Hergates; on the other side the Briniates. P. Mucius made war on those who had ravaged Luna and Pisa, and after completely subjugating them deprived them of their arms.

(Livy 41.19)

Garuli, Lapicini and Hergates lived somewhere south of the Apennines. The *Briniates trans Apenninum* are probably identical to the Freniates who were defeated by Gaius Flaminius and Marcus Aemilius in 187 BC and probably occupied the area between Lucca and Modena (Livy 39.2). It seems that much of east 'Liguria' between Piacenza and the coast was under Roman control. It is therefore surprising that the *uia Postumia* from Genoa via the Apennines to Piacenza was only constructed in 148 BC.

The next important phase is related to Fulvius Flaccus's campaigns in Liguria on his return from Southern Gaul (123 BC). He is believed to have constructed the *uia Fulvia* that connected Italy and Gaul across the Alps. Together with the road construction, he seems to have confiscated a large territory to found the first colonies and *conciliabula* in Piedmont, notably Forum Fulvii which was named after him (Fraccaro 1953; Giorcelli Bersani 1994, 49–51), and probably also Hasta, Pollentia and Carreum-Potentia. The dating for Dertona is more controversial: was there already a pre-Roman settlement (perhaps on a hilltop site) and was it founded or refounded as a strategic Roman base in the first half of the second century BC or in relation to the *uia Postumia* (148 BC) or the *uia Fulvia* (cf. Zanda 2004)? Unfortunately the name *uia Fulvia* is only attested on the late antique *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the identity of the constructor is therefore controversial. Having excluded Gaius Fulvius, the consul of 179 BC who was also engaged in warfare in North Italy, Fraccaro (1953) has convincingly shown that Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, the consul of 125 BC, must have built the *uia Fulvia*. Fraccaro's argument has three major points. Having recognised that our literary sources about Fulvius Flaccus are negatively biased because he opposed conservative senatorial beliefs owing to his relation with the Gracchi, some facts appear certain. First, Cicero tells us that Flaccus

was the first Roman to cross the Alps, and this was exactly the purpose of the *uia Fuluia*. Second, the *uia Fuluia* presupposes the *uia Postumia*, which had only been constructed in 148 BC, long after the consulship of Gaius Fulvius. Third, Fulvius Flaccus's political background suggests strong connections with Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus (cf. Reiter 1978), and we can therefore assume that he also promoted a policy of land settlement. The construction of a road (which was meant to take place on Roman land, *in sole publico*) was often connected with land redistribution to some extent; and with at least one known settlement directly associated with the *uia Fuluia*, namely Forum Fulvii, it seems plausible to suggest that Flaccus might have initiated his own land reform in Liguria.

Together, this evidence makes Fulvius Flaccus the most likely candidate for the road building. Moreover, all the associated settlements (Forum Fulvii, Hasta, Pollentia and Carreum-Potentia) were attributed to the same Roman voting tribe—*Politia*—after the enfranchisement in 49 BC. This is unconventional (*v. infra*) and may therefore suggest that they represented a historic unit for Rome. Some of them were clearly planned in conjunction with the road. For example, at Hasta and Forum Fulvii, the *uia Fuluia* is the *decumanus maximus* of both towns, thus predating their establishment (Zanda 1994a; Giorcelli Bersani 1994). But the archaeology hardly dates before the Principate (e.g. some late Republic fragments of *vernice nera*), which raises the question on the nature of Roman Republican foundations and the cultural background of their inhabitants. If there had been a significant number of settlers or immigrants between 125 and 50 BC, then it appears that they did not manifest themselves culturally. For example, at Dertona a colony at the crossroads of *uia Fuluia* and *uia Postumia*, the pottery sequence starts in the second half of the second century BC (Campanian B ware), and the first public building seems to date to the first century BC (Zanda 2000).

North of the river Po, after the final battle against the Insubres and their allies—the alleged 'Insubrian empire' that also controlled the adjacent territories—in 196 BC, our sources remain surprisingly silent about the 'most powerful Celtic tribe' (cf. Gabba 1984b, 214; Grassi 1995). How is this possible? Only Cremona was established on the edge of Insubrian soil in 218 BC and the only other colony which was founded *trans Padum* was Aquileia in the far east of Cisalpine Gaul in 181 BC. Otherwise there were no colonies north of the Po until the founding of the small Roman colony of Eporedia in 100 BC as a stronghold to control the Salassi (Vell. Pat. 1.15): after that, Caesar founded the colony of Novum Comum (Strabo 5.1.6[213]; cf. Càssola 1991). As we shall see, the Romans did intervene, for example to protect their interest in the gold mines near Vercellae, but generally people seem to have been

able to continue with their traditional way of life as the archaeological record shows (*v. infra*).

The discrepant situations in Liguria and the Transpadana also raise questions about social organisation. In the Transpadana, a people like the Insubrians were capable of creating large-scale resistance to Rome, but there were also much more ‘centralised’ sociopolitical structures that could impose the peace-treaty obligations after 196/194 BC. By contrast, in Liguria we seem to be dealing with a large number of small-scale societies. There was probably no overall control and the Romans celebrated triumphs over relatively small bands of people. Rome might also have responded to calls from the emerging economic centres along the coast and *uiae publicae* in order to defend their economic interests in the hinterland. The case example is the *sententia Minuciorum* when Roman magistrates helped Genoa in the legal consolidation of their hinterland (*v. infra*). Similar situations can be assumed for Albintimilium, Albingaunum and Vada Sabatia. To summarise, Rome’s conquest must have been most destructive in the Apennine mountains due to the extent of enslavement and deportation that our sources record. Many of the coastal towns do not reflect much change after the conquest. North of the river Po, people seem to have been much more pacified, like the Insubres, Vertamocori and the Libici; and the Taurini, for example, must have already been Roman allies at the time of the Hannibalic invasion.

2.3 IDENTITIES AND THE SOCIOECONOMICS OF COINAGE

The new political situation after 222/194 BC must have affected the local population in a number of ways. While there is no evidence for any form of colonisation prior to the *uia Fulvia*, the natives’ main obligation must have been the supply of troops for the Roman war machine. Market towns like Cremona and Piacenza must have provided pressure on existing socioeconomics by inspiring people to produce a surplus to exchange for luxury commodities in these colonies. All this could have resulted in local élites struggling to maintain their authority. But the archaeological record provides a different picture. It seems that indigenous élites managed to consolidate their power without any apparent break in local hierarchies and cultural models. An important means must have been the adoption of new symbols of power and forms of élite control. Coinage and epigraphy seem to have played a vital rôle in this process, but these developments took place within the autochthonous structures of the local societies, so that the power base of the élite probably remained largely unchanged. This is not to deny that sociocultural change did happen in the second century BC, but it was only indirectly the result of exogenous

factors. Instead, people's choices reflect local cultural understandings, while many developments already seem to have started long before the conquest so that Rome's impact might have merely catalysed or redirected already existing societal developments. Local coinage, for example, could have been used to express one's 'Otherness', but the coinage's production, distribution and characteristics may have also reflected local societal developments, like processes of state-development, institutionalisation of power and ethnogenesis.

Coinage and epigraphy are two closely related media of élite expression in this period. From the second century BC onwards, the Lepontic alphabet was used for increasingly complex inscriptions in Celtic across Northwest Italy. This revival of Lepontic epigraphy occurs in a situation comparable to the Golasecca period, correlating with periods of intensified trade, emerging urbanism and state-formation processes. In this respect, epigraphy may have been used to express a sense of local identity, while attestations of non-Roman institutions (*touta*, *rikos*, *argentokomaterekos*) show the continued evolution of indigenous power structures (*v. infra*).

Padane Drachma and Local Identities

The so-called Padane drachma circulated in Northwest Italy and the entire Transpadana from the third to the early first centuries BC (cf. Pautasso 1962; Arslan 1973; 2010; Crawford 1985, 294–97; Brenot 1994; Arslan and Carazzetti 2000; Arslan and Morandini 2007). This raises the issue of a common identity and of state-formation processes across North Italy. The increasing monetisation of societies throughout Italy must have also had consequences for local socioeconomic patterns, like the commodification of social transactions, the payment of rent and taxes in coinage, the acquisition of wealth by subaltern classes, the measurement of wealth by *censores* and many more. The Padane drachma confronts us with additional problems: it seems to develop relatively early, namely in a period when the Romans did not have a silver coinage. Previously it has been argued (e.g. Crawford 1985, 75–6) that it was implausible to expect the minting of Padane drachma before the Second Punic War when the Romans started to mint their own silver coinage, the *denarius*. However, stylistically the Padane drachma derived from the heavy Massalia drachma of the fourth century BC, which may suggest that the first Padane drachmas might have been minted as early as 300 BC (Brenot 1994; Pautasso 1983, 156), a date confirmed by stratigraphic finds from occupation layers in Mediolanum of the fourth and third centuries BC (Arslan 1994, 73). In addition, there are two early

coin types that could have been predecessors to the Padane drachma: having Artemis and owl, they have Lepontic legends in Etruscan letters written from right to left: *anarekartos* (Delamarre 2003, 107f; Markey 2007, 232–5: ‘brightest bear’) and *seghedu* (Chiesa 2000; Delamarre 2003, 268f: *sego*-, ‘victory, force’; Marinetti and Prosdocimi 1994, 28 date them to *c.* 400–370 BC). These two coins seem to date no later than the third century BC, probably even the fourth, suggesting complex forms of social organisation in this period (Arslan 1990; Solinas 1995).

Why did people in Cisalpine Gaul choose the Massalia drachma as model? The drachma’s silver content was probably an important issue, while Romans and Etruscans still largely used a bronze coinage in this period, though Greek drachmas did circulate in the Po Valley (Crawford 1985, 298f). We should not underestimate Marseille’s economic importance in North Italy in the fourth and third centuries BC, as we can see from the distribution of Massaliote amphorae, for example at Genoa (Milanese 1987) and many smaller settlements (e.g. Limone Piemonte: Venturino Gambari *et al.* 1994). Moreover, many Cisalpine tribes are said to have come from Marseille’s hinterland (*v. supra*). But this does not explain why so many people across North Italy adopted a standard coinage and a standard iconography? For Girola (1994, 139), the drachma was meant to facilitate commerce. But this seems unlikely when considering the low volume of exchange in this period (did Strabo’s Ligurians at Genoa still have an exchange in kind?) and the rarity of smaller denominations; we also would expect a change to the denarius system to facilitate trade with Roman colonies after the conquest.

Instead we need a reason why people in North Italy were working together in the first place. Such an alliance across the Transpadana seems most likely in a period of conflict, such as the large-scale coalitions of Boii, Cenomani, Insubres and other peoples against the Romans in the third century BC (especially prior to the Venetians’ alliance with Rome since they adopted the same type of coinage). The origin of the Padane drachma may therefore have been less a marker of a common identity than a means to reward one’s allies, both as a token of gratitude for clan leaders and their ‘warriors’ as well as to pay for mercenaries. In this way, the Padane drachma may have worked like a prestige good being handed down along hierarchical lines. This societal rôle among Transpadane peoples may also explain why it was not replaced by the denarius until the first century BC: it was more than just a ‘coinage’; it was embedded in local traditions as a form of social transaction.

After the conquest, the Padane drachma’s development is particularly revealing for the identity of people in Cisalpine Gaul. Originally there was a relatively standardised iconography. Like its Massalian prototype,

it bears the head of Artemis Ephesia to the right on the obverse and a lion and the legend *MASSA* for Massalia on the reverse (Figure 2.5; Table 2.3). But subsequently, the Massaliote lion increasingly acquired abstract forms, which Pautasso described as ‘scorpion’ or ‘quadruped’



Figure 2.5 Massalian prototype of the drachma with a head of Artemis Ephesia to the right on the obverse and a lion with the legend *Μασσα(λῖα)* on the reverse.¹

Table 2.3 The types of the Cisalpine drachma, their weight, iconography, Greek and Lepontic legends (from *ΜΑΣΣΑ* to a series of five dots to the introduction of Lepontic legends) and their major areas of circulation in North Italy (after Pautasso 1962, 94, and Arslan 2010)

Pautasso Type	Arslan Type	Weight (grams)	AR %	R/	Legend	Attributed Region (after coin distribution)
1	VI	2.96		lion	ΜΑΣΣΑ	Piedm-Lig-W. Lomb.
2	V, VII	2.96		lion	M(A)ΣΣΑ	Piedm-Lig-W. Lomb.
3	VIII	2.90		‘scorpion’	altered	Piedm-Lig-SW. Lomb.
4	VII	2.85		‘scorpion’	altered	Piedmont-Liguria
5	X	2.25		‘scorpion’	altered	Ticino-Verbano
6	IX	2.23	50	‘scorpion’	altered	East Lombardy
7a	XVII	2.60		‘lion’	altered	Lomb.-Piedmont
7b	XVI	2.2–2.6	45	‘lupo’	altered	Lomb.- E. Piedmont
7c	XVII	2.8		quadruped	altered	Lombardy
8a–e	XVIII–XX	2.2–2.7		lion	altered	Veneto
9a–c	XI–XII	2.2–2.3	43.5	lion	<i>toutiopouos</i>	Lombardy
10	XIII	2.2		lion	<i>pirakos</i>	Lombardy
11	III	3.53		lion	<i>anarekartos</i>	Unknown provenance
12	XV	2		lion	<i>rikoi/rikos</i>	Piedm.-Lombardy
–	IV			owl	<i>seghedu</i>	unknown provenance



Figure 2.6 The Massaliote lion increasingly acquired abstract forms, which Pautasso described as ‘scorpion’ or ‘quadruped’, here with the Lepontic legend *pirakos*.¹

(Figure 2.6). This not only reflects an intense cultural debate between the original Hellenistic iconography and people’s perceptions, it is also a striking expression of ‘Otherness’, perhaps an indicator that people north of the Po still felt different from the rest of Italy in the second century BC. Also, the original Greek coin legend *Massa(lia)* degenerated into some indecipherable vertical strokes during the second century BC, suggesting that the engraver and the audience were illiterate; but from c. 100 BC the local élites must have reached a level of literacy that made it feasible to develop new coin legends in Lepontic in the Northwest (not in the Venetic region).

From the distribution of certain drachma types (cf. Table 2.2; Figure 2.7), it appears that there were different minting authorities. For example, Pautasso’s type-8 drachmas mainly circulated in the Veneto (cf. Saccocci 1994), while others predominantly circulated in Lombardy and Piedmont. This could indicate the formation of specific sociopolitical entities in North Italy: Mediolanum, for example, seems to have crystallised as a new political and cultural ‘centre’—a large proto-urban centre and presumably the site of a mint for the Padane drachma—in this period (cf. Arslan 1986). Not unlike Greek coins, the Padane drachma can be expected to reflect aspects of sovereignty and *autonomia* (cf. Crawford 1985; Martin 1985). This is very apparent in the last phase when people used Lepontic coin legends on the drachmas in the Northwest (Pautasso type 9, 10, 11, 12)—a sign of a local identity, especially for the Insubrian region (cf. Arslan 1994, 73; Crawford 1985, 79; Marinetti and Prosdocimi 1994; Marinetti *et al.* 2000).

But distribution patterns are not clear cut (Figure 2.8): the *toutiopoulos*-drachmas mainly cover the area between Milan and Verona, while *rikos*-coins are also common around Como, the Lago Maggiore and the Roman

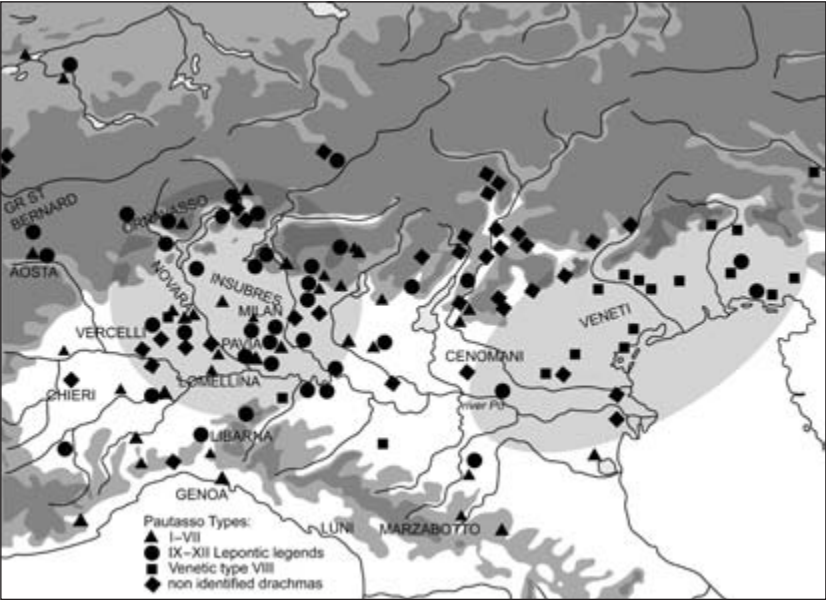


Figure 2.7 Distribution map of Padane drachmas in Cisalpine Gaul (based on Arslan 2010; map: author).

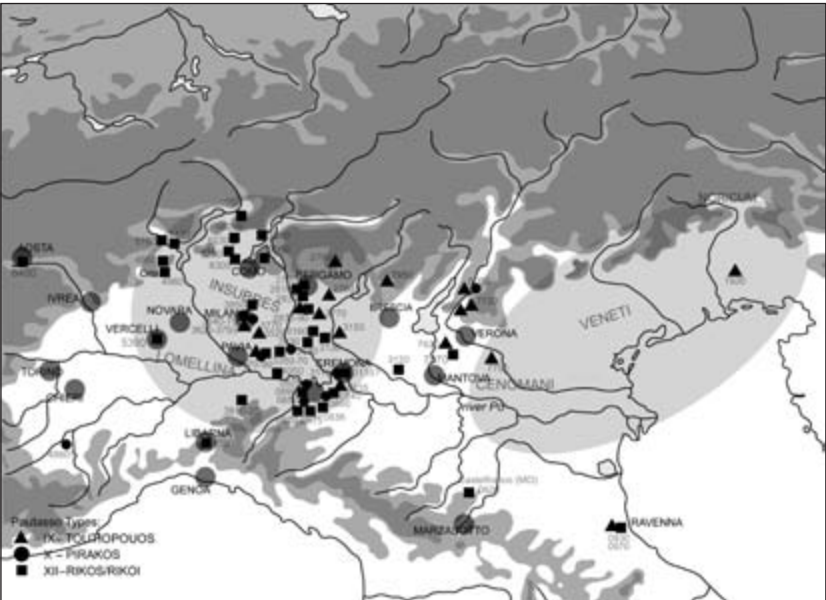


Figure 2.8 Distribution map of Padane drachma with Lepontic legends (based on Arslan 2010; map: author).

colonies Piacenza and Cremona. Following the Roman example, those legends have been frequently interpreted as personal names of the issuer, although there is evidence for the existence of non-personal names on Celtic coins (cf. De Bernardo Stempel 1998 for Britain). It seems much more plausible to relate the coin legends *rikos* (Figure 2.9; Lambert 1994; for plural *rikoi* cf. Morandi 1984; Marinnetti and Prosdocimi 1994, 40–1) and *toutiopoulos* (Figure 2.10; Marinnetti and Prosdocimi 1994, 39–40; Delamarre 2003, 299: ‘boeuf-citoyen(?)’) to the terminology on contemporary Lepontic inscriptions, notably Oleggio and Briona: there, *rikanas* and *takos toutas* represent titles of magistracies, i.e. *rikanas* (‘of the queen’) and *touta* (‘populus’)—a word also known from both Oscan (*tuta*) and Old Irish (*tuath*) (Delamarre 2003, 256f, 294f, 299; Gambari 1989a). The mentioning of *rikos* and *touta* around 100 BC may have aimed at consolidating regional authority or new institutions in North-west Italy, a fundamental step away from the common coinage. This may reflect new forms of statehood, for example in Mediolanum. And at



Figure 2.9 The latest Padane drachma with the Lepontic legend *rikos/rikoi*.¹



Figure 2.10 Padane drachma with Lepontic *toutiopoulos* legend.¹

Vercelli, a first-century BC inscription was set up by the *argentocomater-ecus*, the ‘silver master’, perhaps a *quaestor* or ‘moneyer’, indicating the importance of coinage and an institutionalisation of power in the form of magistracies (*v. infra*).

The Padane Drachma in a Roman World

As a result, the Romans were faced with a well-established coinage system in Cisalpine Gaul. The Padane drachma continued to be minted down to *c.* 100 BC, which may imply that the Romans considered the introduction of the denarius either to be futile (since the denarius bore no relation to indigenous socioeconomics) or unnecessary (since the Romans had no intention of demonstrating their hegemony by coinage for either economic or ideological reasons). In the words of Michael Crawford (1985, 83): ‘The survival for a century and a half of the local system of reckoning is to be seen as the result of the survival of a Celtic system of social relations.’ Rather than imposing the denarius, Rome produced a coinage specifically destined for Cisalpine Gaul from *c.* 100 BC, the *quinarius*, which adopted the name and iconography of the earlier *uictoriatus* (usually Jupiter/Victory with Gallic trophy; Pliny *NH* 33.46); the *quinarius* was valued at half a denarius and it was deliberately debased (Crawford 1985, 181–3). The earliest presence in the Transpadana is the hoard of 170 *uictoriati* plus Padane drachmas from Gambolò Lomellina; further east we find large quantities of *uictoriati* in the hoards of Sustinenza and Borzano; a late third-century hoard from Biandrate (Novara) consisted of two denarii and 96 Padane drachmae (cf. Crawford 1969, 113–4, 162, 339, 418; Arslan 1994). As early as 117 BC, Rome imposed on local inhabitants in the Apennines the obligation to pay rent to Genua in *uictoriati*, imposing its perception of a monetised economy (*v. infra*).

For economic reasons, it might have been useful to guarantee that local coinages were compatible with the Roman denarius system, in particular for census assessment, values of property and tax burden (Crawford 1985, 270–1). Even in Greece, with its well-established coinage system, Roman denarii were used to assess tax burdens (cf. *IG* V.1 1432–3; 1434; IX.2 415b, ll. 52–61). A second-century BC silver bowl in the Museum of Pavia with the name of a ‘native’ owner and its weight measured in Roman pounds might indicate that Roman units of reckoning were used (Crawford 1985, 83). The value of the *uictoriatus* seems to equal the Padane drachma (cf. Serafin Petrillo 1987); by 100 BC, the drachma’s weight had fallen from 2.96g to 2.0g (cf. Pautasso 1962, 91–3, 100–6), while a *quinarius* from M. Porcius Cato 89 BC was 2.21g.

The Padane drachma probably ceased to be minted after the Social War as can be seen by numerous coin hoards (cf. Arslan 2010). But Padane drachmas continued to circulate in small numbers down to the early first century AD, for example at Ornavasso and Como (Pautasso 1962, 128, no. 25; Girola 1994, 138). And during the first century BC, the weight standard and Gallo-Lepontic legends of this coinage were adopted outside Cisalpine Gaul in southern Switzerland and the upper Rhône Valley; a mint at Martigny (Forum Claudii Vallensium) seems likely (cf. Pautasso 1980; Wibl  2008). Lepontic coin legends also spread into the Alpine regions, like those found in the Aosta Valley: already Mommsen attributed these coins to the Salassi, but based on coin distribution they were attributed to the upper Rhône Valley, perhaps by the Uberii (Haut-Valais) (Orlandoni 1975; 1985): Marinetti and Prosdocimi (1994, 41–8) have however convincingly argued that they did indeed belong to the Salassi; only the *iailkouesi* coins can be more clearly attributed to the Rhône Valley. Marinetti and Prosdocimi (1994, 29) suggested that the use of Lepontic across many Celtic areas during the late Iron Age indicates that the Lepontic alphabet was ideologised as the ‘alfabeto nazionale’ reflecting an ‘autoidentit  celtica’ in an attempt at a conscious rejection of the Latin alphabet (Prosdocimi 1991, 56–7). However, it seems rather unlikely that Roman culture and epigraphy played such an important r le in this period: not only had the Latin alphabet not yet acquired such a dominant position in North Italy to stimulate cultural resistance, moreover people might have orientated themselves towards central places other than Rome, like Mediolanum, which was of increasing importance during the second century BC (Arslan 1982). Most of all, we see the growing significance which was attributed to writing in Northwest Italy’s communities and societies.

Coinage also shows the increasing involvement of the *Cisalpini* in the Roman army as auxiliary units, paid soldiers and mercenaries. Crawford (1985, 182–3) suggests that the Romans minted the *quinarius* to pay mercenaries and soldiers during exceptional periods of war. Indeed Rome’s output of coins increased considerably between the second and first centuries BC (Hopkins 1980, 109): an increase that correlates with the decrease in local coinages across Italy. This rise also reflects the increase in Roman legionaries after Marius’s reforms, while the citizenship grant to Rome’s allies in 90 BC further augmented the number of legionaries. The change of military organisation meant that soldiers’ pay was increasingly supplied by Rome in the first century. The close relationship between warfare and society may have motivated many *Cisalpini* to join the Roman army not only as auxiliaries but also as legionaries and mercenaries. In pre-Roman times, Livy (10.18.2), for example,

reports on ‘the Gauls (. . .) being solicited [by the Etruscans] to help as mercenaries’ to fight against Rome, while Hamilcar ‘promised large rewards to his Celtic mercenaries’ (App. *Hisp.* 1.4). Since the use of force was increasingly monopolised in the Roman state, people had to find other ways to acquire *auctoritas* and improve their status outside indigenous social hierarchies. Pay was an important means to enhance one’s standing—especially if we take into account the rather limited display of wealth and status in the second century BC compared to the first century BC (cf. e.g. the funerary evidence, *v. infra*). Acquiring wealth in the form of *uictoriati* might remind us of a ‘growing desire for steady wages’, as happened in modern colonial encounters, such as the increased Indian ‘absorption’ within the eighteenth-century colonial war machine in Britain’s North American colonies. There, it allowed the indigenous population to bypass tribal forms of organisation by the acquisition of money. In our case, the *Cisalpini*’s participation in the Roman army or as paid voters and private armies in Rome, like the *magna manus ex Piceno et Gallia* which Pompey brought to Rome (Cic. *Q Fr.* 2.3.4; Chilver 1941, 112), might have equally initiated a process that could have destroyed local socioeconomics since people could acquire status outside their own community, rather than serve as vassal for a local noble. This may also imply that the abandonment of the Padane drachma need not have been a political move (e.g. Rome being cautious after the episode of the *Italia*-coinages in the Social War), but merely a practical reason—as its rôle in social transaction and local economies was superseded by the *uictoriati* and denarii. Likewise the unstable situation of the late Republic and the escalating payments for Cisalpine mercenaries, combined with the economic, social and legal integration of the Transpadana and Liguria during the first century BC—in addition to taxes, levies, dues and rent—may not have favoured a continued production of the Padane drachma. In this respect, the move from drachma to *uictoriatus* and denarius might also imply a trend towards an at-least-partly monetised economy, further stimulated by the accelerating urbanisation in the first century BC.

Theoretically, Rome had the capacity to intervene in local coinage. It has been suggested that a coinage system was created in Iberia as a response to Roman fiscal and financial requirements (cf. Crawford 1985, 84–102; Keay 1992, 288–92). The aim was to secure the payment of taxes: bronze coins were produced that were handed down to tributary centres in return for all their surplus production (cf. Keay 1992, 288–92; Knapp 1977, 29). It has also been purported that this system of monetisation eventually led to an increase in agricultural surplus production, including the emergence of monocultures (cf. Keay 1992; 1996). This very much reflects the intention of modern-day third-world

politics to provide incentives for agricultural production: according to a UN program for modern day Somalia (UN 1996, 3.3), a monetisation programme ‘will expand the utilisation of the cash proceeds generated from the sale of residual commodities to support projects within the agriculture sector.’ In other words, money is thought to allow the production and accumulation of surplus, as well as its re-investment, for example in the form of drainage, irrigation canals and viticultural workshops—all aspects which are increasingly attested in Northwest Italy during the Roman period from the first century BC onwards.

Though such models are clearly anachronistic, coinage and monetisation must have had wide-ranging consequences for the local socioeconomic structures in Northwest Italy. Though there was a gradual evolution from the third to the early first century BC, we witness a different dimension in the first century BC. It increasingly allowed the subélite classes to acquire wealth and status, introducing new cultural models into society, like the profit-model and the success-model. Acquiring status outside one’s home community and by-passing local hierarchies may have become commonplace. Moreover, the monetisation of local economies was an important tool to allow the creation of capital and credit, to facilitate the buying and selling of land, to allow for investments and to assess the wealth and status of local landowners by Roman censors. Following the grant of Latin rights and Roman citizenship in 89/49 BC, ambitious members of local élites could be expected to increasingly convert traditional social obligations into obligations in cash in order to participate in Roman socioeconomics (cf. Cregeen 1968, 153 on the social consequences of monetising social obligations in the Scottish Highlands). Monetisation could have also created different social ambitions and social opportunities which would therefore have been a means for upward social mobility for many people in Northwest Italy since status increasingly depended on wealth could be acquired outside traditional social structures that involved forms of social bonding like vassalage. Traditional social transactions increasingly made way for an institutionalised ‘market economy’ with designated market areas, like the *fora*. Unlike the pre-Roman period, there emerges a class of affluent traders and craftsmen who became more and more visible in Northwest Italy during the Principate (cf. Chapter 5.6). Measurable wealth—money—also enabled people to dispose of manpower that otherwise would not have been available to them, which made possible the extent of building activities attested in the Principate. The emerging towns of the late Republic were increasingly based on a society where services could be commoditised, for example by waged labour, which in turn also stimulated the display of wealth and trade of artefacts for the many. In this respect, the drachma with its ‘Celtic’ iconography

and its symbolic value was related to ideologies and understandings expressed in La Tène art; and as ideologies failed to convince, both art and symbolism of this coinage had become meaningless in the first century BC. Coinage and material culture indicate that there was a major turning point around 100 BC. In the first century BC people increasingly participated in Italy-wide social and economic life. But in the second century BC, they expressed a strong sense of local identity. How was it possible to express such an almost ‘anti-Roman’ agenda during the roughly 100 years after the conquest? To find an answer, we need to look at the social, legal and political framework.

2.4 PEACE TREATIES AND THEIR CULTURAL IMPLICATIONS

Etenim quaedam foedera exstant, ut Cenomanorum Insubrium Helvetiorum Iapydum nonnullorum item ex Gallia barbarorum, quorum in foederibus exceptum est, nequis eorum a nobis civis recipiatur.

But there are in existence certain treaties, such as those with the Cenomani, Insubres, Helvetii and Iapydes, and also with some of the barbarians in Gaul, and in these treaties there is a saving clause that none of their people may be admitted by us to citizenship.

(Cic. *Balb.* 14.32)

In an argument about the extension of citizenship, Cicero very clearly stated in 56 BC that it was not possible for these (and probably other) peoples to acquire Roman citizenship under the stipulations of their peace treaty—a ‘saving clause’ that was probably motivated by the *topos* of the *terror Gallici*. Cicero must already have given us an anachronistic piece of information since Cenomani and Insubres had already acquired Latin rights—and therefore access to Roman citizenship—by the time he wrote. But how did this exclusion from Roman citizenship affect individuals in Cisalpine Gaul, their motivations and their choices? What is the meaning of Roman culture and lifestyle if one felt excluded, in particular the local élites who might have aspired for a share of power in Rome? Peace treaties (*foedera*) are very important for understanding the relationship between Rome and its ‘allies’ since they unilaterally define the form of dependence, the status and the privileges—if any—of the conquered people. As we shall see, this in turn may either hinder or stimulate integration and participation in the Roman state. The diverse developments in North Italy may also be the result of the different arrangement a people had with Rome.

The Romans used the term *foedus* for any treaty that established an alliance (cf. Neumann 1909; Badian 1954, 25–32, 141–53; Luraschi 1979). *Foedera* were ratified by the Senate and people of Rome, and

only one rejection by the senate was recorded for the year 236 BC when a treaty with the Corsicans established by the non-authorised Claudius Clineas, legate of the consul Caius Licinius Varus, was rejected (Zonar 8.18 (Dindorf); Val. Max 6.3.3). Communities bound to Rome by a *foedus* were called *socii*, except for the *ciuitates foederatae*, which, like Genua, had a special relationship with Rome, having supported Rome's interests during the Hannibalic War (Livy 28.46; 21.32. 31, 1. 32, 29; Cic. *Balb.* 50; Amm. Marc. 15.10.10). By contrast, the status of the free and immune cities without *foedus* (*ciuitates sine foedere liberae et immunes*) could be unilaterally defined by a Roman law or *senatus consultum*. Under the assumption that the Roman concept of *foedus* not only established *pax*, but also *amicitia* (friendship) and even *societas* (alliance), it can be suggested that the approach of any *foedus* suggests a treaty between equal partners—at least in theory. The term *iniquum* is avoided, since in Roman diplomacy it was 'hardly a suitable term' (Badian 1954, 26). In Northwest Italy, some Ligurian people already had a treaty with Rome, like the Statielli who were defended by the Senate against the treatment of the consul Aemilius Paulus (Livy 40.25–28); the Taurini might have entered Roman *amicitia* prior to the Second Punic War, since they, unlike the Insubres, supported Rome when Hannibal crossed the Alps with his army in their territory in 225 BC (Polyb. 3.60).

Here we come back to Cicero's statement about the Insubres. Taking into account the persistence of local cultures and the lack of colonies down to the first century BC, it has been suggested that the exclusion from citizenship served to stabilise Insubrian hierarchies and secure the supremacy of local aristocracies whose position would otherwise have been endangered by individuals gaining Roman citizenship (cf. Luraschi 1979, 44–5; Gabba 1984b, 215; 1986a, 29–30; 96–8; Bandelli 1992; Spagnolo Garzoli 1999b). But is it really feasible that the exclusion from citizenship—and thus from economic and social participation in Italy—was a 'privilege' to preserve local autonomy? Instead it seems more likely that this was a restrictive and punitive measure and that it was a secondary effect of such a *foedus* to consolidate pre-existing socioeconomic patterns by not interfering in the functioning of local societies and their socioeconomic base, for example by splitting up local society into those with Roman citizenship and those without (cf. Arangio Ruiz 1950; Tibiletti 1953, 62; Gabba 1984b), especially at a time when Roman citizenship still excluded other citizenships (cf. Galsterer 1976, 96), a notion that gradually became obsolete after the Social War.

It was also assumed (e.g. Gabba 1984b; Luraschi 1979; Bandelli 1992) that the absence of Roman colonies north of the Po (except Cremona) was due to the fact that it was not possible for Rome to *habere praesidium*

in allied territories bound by *foedera aequa*. But this only makes sense, if there ever was a category of *foedera iniqua*. If there really was such an equal treaty with the Insubres, the question arises, why, when and how did this relationship come to an abrupt end in the first century BC when proconsuls and legions started to be based in the Transpadana, when colonies like Comum were founded and when, although explicitly forbidden by the *foedus* according to Cicero, everyone acquired Latin rights in 89 BC and Roman citizenship in 49 BC. How could this be under a *foedus aequum*? But having been defeated twice, once at Clastidium (222 BC) and once at Como (196 BC), an equal status seems unlikely: Rome unilaterally imposed its authority on her fiercest enemies, notably on the Insubres. In this respect, the discontinuity of warrior graves in most of Insubrian territory (certainly from LT D2, cf. Arslan 1978, 84; Grassi 1990–91, 282–3) could indicate their disarmament (*v. infra*). The term *foedus iniquum* would of course have been avoided for diplomatic reasons in order not to imply any feelings of an ‘unjust’ treaty, which would contradict Roman ideology.

Despite these *foedera*, Rome did interfere in people’s local affairs wherever possible. For example in 143 BC Rome arbitrated between the Salassi and the Libici over the use of the water of the river Dora Baltea (cf. Cavallaro 1985):

Claudius, the colleague of Metellus, impelled by pride of birth and jealousy of Metellus, since he had chanced to draw Italy as his province, where no enemy was assigned to him, was eager to secure by any means some pretext for a triumph; hence he set the Salassi, a Gallic tribe, at war with the Romans, although no complaints were being made against them. For he had been sent to reconcile them with their neighbours who were quarrelling with them about the water necessary for the gold mines, and he overran their entire country.

(Cassius Dio 22 fr. 74; also cf. Strabo 4.6.7; Livy 53; Orosius 5.4.7; Obsequens *Prodigia* 21)

The water was of course necessary for the gold mines that were exploited by Roman publicans (*v. infra*). Rome was merely defending its economic interests in the Transpadana. Rome was also called upon to re-establish security, the *manus militaris*, for example by ‘defending’ Roman allies from the raids of Alpine tribes (cf. Cic. *Pis.* 26.62; Livy. *per.* 62; Oros. 5.14.5):

Lucius Licinius Crassus when consul (99 BC?) ran down and destroyed some bands in Cisalpine Gaul. They had no distinguished or even regular leader, nor were they so famous or numerous that they deserved to be

called enemies of the Roman people, yet, by their plundering they had made the province unsafe.

(Cic. *de inv.* 2.37.111)

Furthermore, the Romans imposed their own perception of property rights on indigenous inhabitants. The *sententia Minuciorum* of 117 BC, for example, illustrates the uncompromising application of Roman concepts of private property when Roman magistrates arbitrated between Genua and the neighbouring Apennine population, the *Langenses Veituris/Vitirii* (Figure 2.11; *CIL* V 7749 = *ILLRP* II 517; cf. Petracco Siccardi 1958–59; Stahl 1986; Foraboschi 1992, 55–62; Pastorini (ed) 1995; Bianchi 1996) Originating from a struggle between farmers and pastoralists—the *Genuates* were expanding their economic interest in their hinterland—the *sententia Minuciorum* defined private property and boundaries, thus imposing one-sided changes to property rights, taxation and land use. Precisely defined land was assigned to the *Langenses Veituris*, for the use of the *ager publicus* they had to pay 400 *uictoriati* annually to Genua.

The Roman arbitrators imposed important changes on the local communities: Roman law mainly considered private property and this concept was imposed on indigenous people. Such a clash between different concepts of ownership is also a common theme in colonial encounters, like the Victorian colonisers who had to consider ‘alternate systems of



Figure 2.11 The bronze tablet (48 × 38 × 0.2cm) discovered at Polcevera in 1506 AD containing the *sententia Minuciorum* of 117 BC when Quintus and Marcus Minucius Rufus arbitrated between Genua and the *Langenses Veituris*.¹

property other than that of private property' (Chakravarty-Kaul 1996). Moreover, payment of rent and monetisation caused changes to the socio-economics of the Veituris; having to pay an annual sum of money to Genua would have forced local communities to produce a surplus that needed to be sold for money in a market in order to pay the annual rent which may have resulted in agricultural specialisation.

Here—as in many other cases—Rome's activities appear to have stimulated people's integration into municipal structures, though often only as a by-product of Roman imperialism. In this respect, an essential peace-treaty stipulation ordered the supply of manpower to fight alongside Roman legions when required by Rome. These were self-contained contingents organised in traditional ways and mobilised by individual communities (Galsterer 1976, 107): prior to the Batavian revolt in AD 69–70, the military leaders of such auxiliaries generally came from their own local élites. Recruitment, pay and allegiance may have originally reflected local social structures; but increasingly some *socii* were incorporated under consular command, for example when allied contingents were organised as *extraordinarii* under the command of *praefecti* (Polyb. 6.26.6–9; Livy 40.27.3). As early as 175 BC, Livy (41.1.8) reports a 'Gallic' contingent: 'In the same area, about a mile distant, was the camp (*castra*) of the Gauls: their chief (*regulus*), Catmelus, was in command of not more than 3,000 armed men'.

Livy's perception of the *Galli* as an ethnic unit without further subdivisions mirrors Roman perceptions of ethnic identities. By demanding manpower on the basis of artificial ethnic entities, the Romans thus re-defined them and further catalysed the state-formation process in the second century BC (Haeussler 2000, forthcoming). The supply of troops was important for the societal integration of the *socii*. With Romans and natives fighting side-by-side against the same enemy and sharing the profit from booty, a basis of a common identity was created: 'formazione di una coscienza unitaria con Roma' (Gabba 1984b, 214; 1986b, 35–6): although the political and cultural integration seems to be much more limited in Northwest Italy than in Central Italy where this common 'consciousness' would eventually lead to the Social War.

2.5 LATIN RIGHTS: INTEGRATION AND SEGREGATING

As we have seen above, something important must have happened in the early first century BC that had such an impact on people's lives and their cultural understandings as to have led to profound changes in material culture and to the end of the Padane drachma and Lepontic epigraphy. One reason must have been people's increasing interaction across Italy. Rome became a new social, political and cultural focus point for the indigenous people, and we need to understand the possible reasons that

could have prompted such changes in people's mentalities from the second to the first century BC. Also, the Romans themselves became more interested in even the most remote parts of Northwest Italy, for its manpower, land and resources.

One pivotal event must have been the Social War that catalysed the 'unification' of Italy and changed Roman perceptions on integrating its *socii* (cf. Mouritsen 1998). Cisalpine peoples did not participate in the Social War, but Gauls were recruited by both sides, for example 10,000 fought with the consul Sextus Iulius Caesar (App. *B Civ.* 1.5.42; 1.6.50; Scuderi 1987, 16, n. 47). After the war, most free people living south of the river Po acquired Roman citizenship after 90 BC and therefore equal status to the Romans and a share in power—a premise for a unified Italy. The Transpadana also profited when Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo introduced the so-called *lex Pompeia* in 89 BC which gave the non-Latin inhabitants of North Italy Latin rights. *Ius Latii* is a post-Social War *terminus technicus* used for the first time in the context of this *lex*. It describes the privileges and rights which the Latins and the citizens of Latin colonies used to have: *commercium*, *conubium* and *ius migrationis*. These privileges initiated many social and cultural developments in Northwest Italy, notably the creation of municipalities by which non-urbanised communities and *ethnoi* were attributed to newly created or re-founded urban centres. In his commentary on Cicero's *in Pisonem* 3, Asconius (c. 9 BC–AD 76) provides important information on the modes of implementing the *lex Pompeia* (cf. Luraschi 1979, 271–3):

neque illud dici potest, sic eam coloniam (Placentia) esse deductam quemadmodum post plures aetates Cn. Pompeius Strabo, pater Cn. Pompei Magni, Transpadanas colonias deduxerit. Pompeius enim non novis colonis eas constituit sed ueteribus incolis manentibus ius dedit Latii, ut possent habere ius quod ceterae Latinae coloniae, id est ut petendi [or gerendo] magistratu ciuitatem Romanam adispicerentur.

It cannot be said that this colony (Placentia) was founded in the same manner as Cn. Pompeius Strabo, son of Cn. Pompeius Magnus, established the Transalpine colonies many years later. For Pompeius did not place new colonists in these, but he granted Latin rights (*ius Latii*) to the old inhabitants who already lived there, so that they could have the same rights as those in other Latin colonies, i.e. to acquire Roman citizenship by holding a magistracy.

It is obvious that Asconius did not intend to suggest anything like a block grant of Latin rights to the Transpadana in the year 89 BC. Instead he carefully described the creation of new Latin colonies (*colonias deduxerit*) without the settlement of colonists, i.e. the existing inhabitants (*ueteribus incolis*) were granted the *ius Latii* (cf. Gabba 1987, 31).

We must assume that this process of creating Latin colonies—Luraschi's *colonie fittizie*, 'pseudo-colonies' (1979; 1983)—must have taken several decades as a process of territorial and political reorganisation would have been necessary, including the creation of urban centres as administrative, religious and political centres, and perhaps also the need for the *gromatici* to survey the land of the new colonies. This may have been necessary for the rural reorganisation, but also to assess the wealth and status of the new municipal élites (cf. Ewins 1955, 81–3).

In 89 BC, the only 'proper' Roman town in our area of study north of the river Po was the colony of Eporedia. Instead, already existing settlements must have been chosen as *caput ciuitatis* for the new colonies, preferably those with good infrastructure, like Vercellae and Mediolanum. At Vercellae, the archaeology seems to suggest a certain urban redevelopment in the first century BC that might have been associated with this development (cf. Mercado 1990 for stratigraphic analyses of urban centres showing that there is no evidence for urbanism before the first century BC at Hasta, Vercellae and Aquae Statiellae). As a consequence, other settlements lost their rôle in this period and some were abandoned. To make a coherent municipality, non-urbanised polities or 'tribes' were attributed to these new urban centres. That this process of attribution was related to the *lex Pompeia* is shown by Pliny's reference to a Pompeian law when talking about *adtributae municipiis lege pompeia*—the tribes that were 'placed by the Pompeian law under the jurisdiction of a *municipium*' (Pliny NH 3.24; cf. Laffi 1966). If we accept the notion of *adtributio*, then all free people of the Transpadana would have received Latin rights between 89 and 49 BC by becoming assigned to one of these newly created colonies, living in either the central place or the *territorium*. In the long run, the *lex Pompeia* created an increasing hierarchisation of settlement patterns and a municipal élite that might have had links to various communities and kinship groups across a vast territory: old ethnic identities were thus increasingly replaced by a municipal identity.

The establishment of Latin colonies by Pompeius's law seems to be mirrored in the renaming of some sites after their founder, as in the case of Laus Pompeia (Lodi Vecchio) and Alba Pompeia (Alba), combining a typical indigenous toponym with the name of the law-giver and patron Pompeius. But Alba also causes a problem as it is not located in the Transpadana, but south of the river Po. But should not the *Cispadani* have received full Roman citizenship in 90 BC? The most obvious explanation is that conferring the *ius Latii* on the *Transpadani* was more characteristic or, in the words of Ewins, 'it attracted more attention and interest' (1955, 79). In other words, communities of *peregrini* in the Cispadana were probably treated like those in the Transpadana, while citizenship

was primarily granted to already existing Latin colonies (cf. Ewins 1955, 75–83; Laffi 1966, 19, n. 13).

In the late Republic, when societies across Italy were experiencing rapid upheavals, the grant of *ius Latii* to the *Transpadani* must have transformed people's identities and their social and cultural understandings. Latin rights provided local people with new means to participate in Italy-wide socioeconomic structures: *conubium* made possible lawful marriages between citizens of different Latin cities; *commercium* allowed people to make contracts with other 'Latin' citizens; *ius migrationis* facilitated migration by acquiring the citizenship of another Latin city. It was not only the élite who could profit from these privileges, but all strata of society. This was an important foundation on the road to a more 'unified' Italy, allowing people to move to any community, buy land, and participate in economic, social and political life of any city of their choice. Of course, existing concepts of ethnicity and hierarchy disintegrated or at least became marginalised: perhaps a landowner managed to preserve his authority in a rural context, but his former 'vassals' and 'dependents' could move to another municipality in Italy or the provinces.

The threat to local socioeconomic structures was aggravated by the *ius ciuitatis per magistratum*, which Asconius explicitly mentioned: people with Latin rights could acquire Roman citizenship by serving as local magistrates. Originally this was probably limited to the highest magistrates, the *duumviri* (only from the second century AD onwards, *Latium maius* is attested, granting citizenship to all decurions, cf. Gai. I 96; Galsterer 1976, 10; Galsterer-Kröll 1973; Sherwin-White 1973, 111f, 255; for *ciuitas per magistratum* originating in *ius migrationis* cf. Marshall 1985, 86). Bradeen (1958–59) and Mouritsen (1998) argue for a later date of the *ciuitas per magistratum*, although it is already presupposed in the *lex repetundarum*, ll. 78–79 before 111 BC (cf. Lewis *et al.* 1996, 94, 111). This stipulation was mainly aimed at local élites as it facilitated their integration into Roman forms of power, making it possible to run for office in Rome and encouraging careers in a Roman-style *cursus honorum*. Roman citizenship must have been a privilege that might have been displayed publically, by adopting a new name, Roman lifestyle and dress. But the *ius ciuitatis per magistratum* also split up local communities—and local élites in particular—into those with Roman citizenship and those without, which damaged existing hierarchies and value systems. The *ciuitas per magistratum* could have inspired competition and aspirations that brought about significant adaptations and modifications to pre-existing hierarchies. In the early first century BC, citizenship still had such an important political potential that a new Roman citizen, who wanted to take advantage of the benefits, would have been expected to move to Rome upon receiving Roman citizenship and to renounce the

citizenship in his/her local community (Galsterer 1976, 96), as explicitly stated by Cicero in a passage dating to as late as the 70's BC (Cic. *Caec.* 100; also cf. *Nep. Att.* 31). After the Social War, the obligation to reside in Rome was obviously no longer feasible, though probably necessary for an active political career in Rome. The rôle of some dignitaries from the local community, who acquired the status of equestrian and senator, would have changed dramatically to that of a local patron and benefactor. They would have created a link to the centre of power, but they would have been missing as statesmen in local politics where they would have directed particular local hierarchies and traditions, thus causing a further centralisation of power in Rome while diminishing statesmanship could be expected across Italy in this period.

With the creation of Latin colonies in Northwest Italy, there also emerged a rather standardised 'constitution' with *duumviri* as the highest magistrates. The *lex Latina* and *lex Osca Bantinae* suggest that a Roman-style *cursus honorum* may have been imposed (cf. Galsterer *et al.* 1996; Richardson 1996), but according to Cicero (*Balb.* 20–1) Latin communities appear to have been free to follow whichever law was convenient to them. Yet, Roman law spread throughout Italy wherever Roman citizens resided—and between 90 and 49 BC everybody became a Roman citizen.

An important side-effect of the Social War was the division of Italy into one part consisting of Roman citizens and the province of Cisalpine Gaul with a variety of legal statuses. Prior to 89 BC, Cisalpine Gaul did not function as a province with regular pro-magistrates, as known from Sicily or Spain, but was treated like the rest of Italy. The necessary administrative reorganisation as a result of introducing the *ius Latii* and *ciuitas Romana* might have necessitated the constant presence of a Roman magistrate with *imperium* in the Po Valley to assist in implementing the new legal statuses. In the course of the first century BC, Gallia Cisalpina is increasingly attested as *prouincia* in territorial and administrative senses of the term. Certainly for Cicero (e.g. *Prov. cons.* 2.3), Cisalpine Gaul was a territorial province when he listed it side-by-side with the provinces of Syria, Macedonia and Transalpine Gaul in 56 BC. But the date for the first regular governor is heavily disputed. There may have already been one in 89 BC in order to enforce the *lex Pompeia*. Luraschi (1979, 179) suggests 81 BC in connection with the Sullan reorganisation of Italy. A fragment from Granius Licinianus (36, p. 32, 14 [Flemisch]) could indicate a provincial status in 78 BC with Sulla becoming proconsul for Cisalpine Gaul, *data erat et Sullae prouincia Gallia Cisa[pina] . . .* (cf. Laffi 1992, 12). There might be evidence for a governor in 77 BC if we assume a mistake by Appian (*B Civ.* 1.13.107) who called Marcus Aemilius Lepidus proconsul of Transalpine Gaul (τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἀλπεῖς

Γαλατίαν) instead of Cisalpine Gaul where the very same Lepidus actually had troops stationed as we are told by Plutarch (*Pomp.* 16.1). More certain is the governorship of Gaius Aurelius Cotta who was assigned the proconsulate in 75 BC for the subsequent year, *sed consules decretas a patribus prouincias inter se parauere: Cotta Galliam citeriorem habuit, Ciciliam Octavius* (Sall. *Hist.* II fragm. 98 (Maurenbrecher 103)). At that time Cilicia was usually considered a *prouincia* in the territorial and administrative sense of the term, while Gallia Cisalpina appears in the same category. Under Caesar's governorship, Cisalpine Gaul was a regular proconsular province whose governor would receive troops and money from the Senate: *prouinciam Galliam senatus auctoritate exercitu et pecunia instructam et ornata[m] (. . .) deposui* (Cic. *Pis.* 2.5).

In North Italy, the governor had an important impact on local administration and infrastructure, encouraging local people to participate in a Roman discourse. By speaking and giving law, the governor spread Roman laws across Cisalpine Gaul (cf. Caesar's account as governor: *B Gall.* 1.54.3; 8.23.3: *Caesare in Gallia citeriore ius dicente*). The governor did not need to impose law, but this was taken up by local people who appealed to the Roman magistrate, thus undermining local forms of authority. The presence of the governor meant that people could not only experience Roman values and symbols of power, but engage in this discourse, notably in a situation where *Cisalpini* increasingly participated in Roman politics and the Roman army. Caesar's governorship must have been an important turning point for North Italy. Not only did he found colonies, notably Novum Comum, but he also heavily recruited for his army: probably eight legions from Gallia citerior (e.g. *Caes. B Gall.* 1.24.2; 2.2.1; 7.1.1; cf. Williams 2001, 122) plus cavalry units (*App. B Civ.* 2.10.70), making possible an increasing identification of the *Cisalpini* with the Roman state and its leaders.

Altogether, the grant of *ius Latii* in 89 BC had an important catalysing function for sociocultural change, notably through the active reorganisation of indigenous communities as Latin colonies. In the context of competing social statuses—peregrine, Latin rights, Roman citizens—Italo-Roman material culture would allow people to display their status, but not in terms of 'Romanisation', rather as bricolage of personal identities in a changing world. The rapidly evolving material culture in the first century BC reflects social tensions in local contexts.

2.6 DISCREPANT IDENTITIES: EPIGRAPHY AND ONOMASTICS

Considering the growing participation of the *Cisalpini* in Roman warfare and the increasingly intertwined web of political, economic and social ties across Italy, we should expect to find a significant cultural 'fallout' in

the archaeological record during the first century BC besides the change from Padane drachma to *uictoriatu*s. Material culture and epigraphy indicate a multitude of developments that affected all aspects of people's life, resulting in people constructing discrepant identities. Italo-Roman cultural expressions must have become increasingly meaningful for people who engaged actively in Roman economy and society. But many people in Northwest Italy must have also felt 'torn apart' by contradictory motivational forces: on the one hand, there were the local traditions, ideologies, hierarchies and the expectations of and obligations to one's family and community; on the other hand, there were new pressures (e.g. producing a surplus to pay rent and taxes, enlisting into the Roman army) and new economic, social and political opportunities.

In this respect, the epigraphic record provides an interesting insight into the way people constructed their identity. Bilingualism or multilingualism must have been the norm for many people in the late Republic and we would expect epigraphy equally to mirror this clash of alphabets, languages and identities. Bilingual inscriptions are however rare in North Italy, except for two inscriptions written in Latin and Lepontic, one from Todi in Umbria (*RIG* II.1, *E-5) and the other one from Vercellae, which is also the earliest attestation of Latin in Northwest Italy (*RIG* II.1 *E-2 = *ILV* 59 = *AE* 2007, 27; 'Baldacci 1977; Bruno 1977; Lejeune 1977a; Lambert 1994; De Bernardo-Stempel 1998; 2011). They provide a rare glimpse into people's private and public self-representations. Bilingual inscriptions allow us to speculate on the understandings and motivations of some local élites in the first century BC who were faced with significant cultural differences between Roman and 'indigenous' cognitions.

The Vercellae inscription (height 150cm) probably dates between 100 and 49 BC (Figure 2.12). Because of the use of Latin, Roda (1985) even considered 49 BC as a *terminus post quem*, but we should not forget that Latin—for rhetoric and poetry—had already become a focus of study within these Iron Age communities, as seen by the Insubrian comedy writer Caecilius Statius, Cicero's *malus auctor Latinitatis* (*Att.* 7.3.10). Mediolanum was also the place Vergil would visit for his studies in rhetoric in the first century BC (Pliny *Ep.* 4.13.3; Donat. *Vit. Verg.* 7), demonstrating the extent to which Latin had probably developed into a *lingua franca*, although it was not used on public inscriptions. If the Vercellae inscription did indeed date to a period after 49 BC, its non-Roman character and unskilled Latin would have appeared even more maladroit in the context of a Roman *municipium*. The text (written from left to right like Latin, not right to left as on earlier Lepontic inscriptions) recounts that a certain Akisios/Acisius dedicated a *campus* whose boundaries are marked by four *stelai* to 'gods and humans' (*deis*



Figure 2.12 The bilingual inscription from Vercellae.¹

et hominibus or *teuotom/teuotoni[o/n]*). The Latin text comes first and contains more information:

*Finis
campo quem
dedit Acisius
Argantocomater-
5 ecus com<m>unem deis et hominib-
us ita ut lapide[s] IIII statuti sunt.*

(This is the) boundary
of the ‘*campus*’ which
Acisius
Argantocomater-
ecus has given to
gods and humans for common use
so that four boundary stones were
set up.

This is then followed by the Gallo-Lepontic text (retroverse):

*Akisios. Arkatoko[k]
materekos. to[-]o-
kot[- a]tom. teuox
10 toni[o/n] eu.*

Akisios Arkatoko-
materekos insti-
tuted boundaries (*atom*) to gods-
and-humans, *e(x) u(oto)(?)*

alternative readings: ll.9-10 *teuox|tom koneu*
(*ILV 59 = RIG II.1 *E-2*, p. 36f).

Despite the use of Latin, the text is unconventional and reflects non-Roman characteristics. For example, the word *fines* on inscriptions usually refers to boundaries between private estates (*fines fundi*), towns/tribes (*fines ciuitatis*) or provinces (*fines prouinciae*) (cf. Šašel Kos 2002), not the boundaries of a ‘*campus*’ (which is given here in the dative, *campo*). We are certainly not dealing with a *ciuitas* boundary since the stele was found just northeast of the city of Vercellae at the river Sesia: there are more or less contemporary inscriptions from Ateste, in which the proconsul *finis terminosque statui ius(s)it* between Patavium and Ateste (CIL V 2490 = ILS 5945 = AE 2000, 592; also cf. CIL V 2491–2492)—a wording that might have inspired the Vercellae inscription (also *v. supra* for the *sententia Minuciorum: eos fineis facere terminosque statui iuserunt*).

A non-Roman feature is the Celtic word *arkatokomaterekos-argantacomaterecus*, which was not translated into Latin, while the Celtic *teuoχtonion* (i.e. *deuo-gdonioi* < *deuos*, ‘god’, and *gdonios*, ‘man; human’: Delamarre 2003, 141f and 174) had to be paraphrased as *deis et hominibus*, because there obviously were no equivalent words in Latin (De Bernardo-Stempel 1998, 98–100; 2011 relates *teuoχtonion* to *dia oculus duine* of Old Irish legal texts, though this does not imply that the bilingual text from Vercellae was not the dedication of a cult place; we also should allow for a certain evolution between late Republican Italy and Medieval Ireland). This is similar to the bilingual inscription from Todi in Umbria, also written in Latin and Lepontic, in which the Celtic expression *karnitu* was paraphrased as *locauit statuitque* (RIG II.1, *E-5, esp. p. 49–52; also cf. Briona: *karnitus*, RIG II.1, *E-1, *v. infra*; Delamarre 2003, 105, s.v. *carnitu*). This shows cultural and linguistic discrepancies between the Latin and Celtic languages and between Roman and indigenous cognitions. These differences are seemingly overcome in the Principate with its more standardised Latin texts when Roman customs give the impression as if they were adapted more effortlessly to most local situations.

The meaning of the *campus* is controversial. It most likely refers to a sanctuary (Baldacci 1977, 344), an open space outside the settlement marked by four *stelae*; this information is missing in the Celtic text, but it was obviously necessary to explain in the Latin version. A Latin votive dedication to the *Fons Dianae Victoriae* at Pino Torinese (Carreum-Potentia) documents a similar phrase: *inter quattuor terminos* (CIL V 7493 = AE 2007, 564). The closest parallel might be the Greek ὄποι that marked the boundaries of sanctuaries ‘so that no one crosses them unless pure’ (Hippoc. *Morb. sacr.* 1.110–12; cf. Cole 2004, 44). Lejeune (1988, 33) suggested that the *campus* was a kind of *locus* that was consecrated for the annual ceremony to renew the relationship between gods and

humans in Celtic mythology, for example *samonios/sambain*. Whether a permanent sanctuary or a seasonal one, this type of sacred place most likely reflects indigenous cognition, but its association with one of the emerging Latin colonies may also highlight processes in the development of Vercellae into a political and religious central place.

The question we have to ask is not only what inspired Akisios to use Latin for an apparently non-Roman *campus*, but also why epigraphy was used at all, considering that there were no pre-Roman dedications of that kind in Northwest Italy. Is this the product of Akisios's wish to emulate Italo-Roman élites or to display his self-identity? For the use of Latin, Bandelli (1992, 36) suggested that bilingual inscriptions were the first step towards 'assimilation'. But bilingual inscriptions can also reflect two distinct communities living together: for example, if we accept Lejeune's dating to c. 100 BC, a strong Roman presence might have necessitated the protection of an already existing sanctuary against the Romans who exploited the nearby Bessa mines by *publicani*, fought the battle against the Cimbri (104 BC) and founded the nearby colony of Eporedia in 100 BC. On the other hand, Akisios may have used Latin in order to demonstrate Vercellae's allegiance to Rome: the Romans may have been considered liberators who freed the Libici from the alleged Insubrian domination (*v. supra*) and protected them against the Salassi and Cimbri. The use of Latin may reflect Akisios's self-representation, his knowledge of Latin and his Roman power relations, while a bilingual inscription could also indicate social tensions in Vercellae at a time when the settlement acquired more urban characteristics (cf. Mercado 1990; Spagnolo Garzoli 1995) and the status of Latin colony as a result of the *lex Pompeia*. Perhaps the *campus* served to consolidate social hierarchies, while the inscription highlights a certain reorientation towards new forms of expression and towards a new symbolic language.

Above all, this bilingual inscription is the result of the ambiguous position of Akisios himself. Together with *campus* and *teuoχtom/teuoχtonion*, there remains a clear discrepancy between indigenous and Roman mentalities that make up the bricolage of Akisios's identity. There were conflicting personal identities which we will also recognise below in the rapidly changing archaeological assemblages throughout the first century BC. Akisios adopted the means of Latin epigraphy and Latin language. The Latinisation of his name from Akisios to Acisius does not mean the adoption of a Latin name, but it merely followed the conventions that went with the alphabet, similar to the process of inserting indigenous onomastics into Roman forms in the *sententia Minuciorum* from 117 BC (*v. supra*). In the Republic, the lack of a *praenomen* suggests that Akisios was a peregrine. *Arkatoko{k}materekos* or *Argantocomaterecus* may be considered to be a personal name since the *-kos*-ending resembles the

Celtic *-knos*-suffix that indicates a patronymic. But in Northwest Italy, this is conventionally translated into Latin as filiation: *arkatokomaterekos* is therefore most likely a magistrate's title—'master of the silver', i.e. moneyer or treasurer; also see *arganto-dan(os)* for the 'curateur des monnaies' (Baldacci 1977; Lejeune 1977a; Delamarre 2003, 53). The fact that this title was not translated in Latin may appear surprising, but perhaps there was no equivalent term in Latin, similar to the Oscan *meddix* that also remained untranslated in Latin inscriptions (cf. the *meddix tuticus* from Pietrabbondante with a Roman *tria nomina*: Gn. Staiis Stafidins: Vetter 1953, no. 151 = La Regina 1966 no. 15).

Another Lepontic inscription with a combination of indigenous and Roman elements comes from San Bernardino di Briona (Figure 2.13; *RIG* II.1 *E-1; Campanile 1981). Besides a long list of primarily Celtic personal names, it also mentions the phrase *takos toutas*, 'by order of the people', from *touta* ('people') like in *toutiopouos* (also cf. the *tooutious* in a dedication of a *nemeton* from Vaison-la-Romaine, *RIG* G-153; Delamarre 2003, 299). One of the names stand out: *Kuitos lekatos*. This is usually interpreted as a Celtic rendering of *Quintus legatus*. Is this already a first



Figure 2.13 The Lepontic inscription from Briona, San Bernardino (Novara): *takos toutas* || *Tanotaliknoi* | *Kuitos* | *Lekatos* | *Anokopokios* | *Setupokios* | *Esanekoti* | *Anareuišeos* | *Tanotalos* | *karnitus*. 'By order of the people, the sons of Dannotalos Quintus *legatus*, Andecombogios, Setubogios and the sons of Exandecottos Anareuiseos (and) Dannotalos have set this up' (Museo di Antichità, Torino).¹

indication of the expression of *Romanitas*? In Rome, a *legatus* was not a magistracy, but at Briona it may have shown the importance of relations with Roman authorities. Local institutions were innovative and adapted to the changing environment between the second and first centuries BC. Celtic titles may have acquired new meaning, like the *arkatokomaterikos* ('moneyer') and the *rikos/rikoi* on the Padane drachma. But at the same time, Latin titles were adopted in the local communities. Briona's *lekatos* is perhaps more than just a Roman *legatus*: it might have been an important magistracy to deal with Roman authorities. The adoption of Roman technical terms also happened elsewhere, such as the term *praetor* that was adopted for a local magistracy in Southern Gaul as *πραιτωρ* on a Gallo-Greek inscription from Vitrolles (RIG I G-108). There is also the *q(uaestor)*, *pr(aetor)* and *tr(ibunus) pl(ebis)* in the Oscan inscription of Bantia with 'q' not even being an Oscan letter (despite Oscan, people at Bantia having followed a Latin *cursus honorum*: Galsterer *et al.* 1996). Also, the *censores* in many Italian communities demonstrate to what extent local societies were increasingly affected by the military and financial requirements of the Roman Republic (cf. e.g. Galsterer *et al.* 1996 for the *censtur* (sic!) at Bantia). Already during the late Republic, social status and authority had to be increasingly defined within an imperial hierarchy, but there was still scope for variation.

Briona's *Quintus legatus/Kuitos lekatos* also shows the adoption of Latin names. Did *Kuitos* intend to display his 'Romanitas' by choosing an Italic name? The adoption of Italo-Roman names in Northwest Italy probably took place long before we can recognise it epigraphically. But we should not overemphasise its significance. This enrichment of the onomastic repertoire need not be an indicator of cultural choice, ethnicity or self-identity (cf. Adams 2003; Haeussler 2008a). *Quintus* itself might have been adopted from the Etruscan praenomen *Cuinte*. Knowledge of Latin, Oscan, Etruscan and Celtic names was bound to spread throughout Italy in all directions, and not unilaterally from Rome by various means, such as the army, migration and colonisation.

Another important onomastic development was the emergence of a family name, similar to the Roman *nomen gentilicium*, which did not exist in Cisalpine societies. In our area, an early 'gentilicium', *Matobogios*, seems to be attested on the Lepontic inscription from Curregio dating c. 100 BC (Figure 2.14; cf. Gambari 1990–91; Morandi 2004, 96). The gentilicium reflected a new identity, the concept of an unchanging family name. The question arises to what extent this may have instigated the development of new social structures. For the Venetic area, Lejeune has demonstrated the point to which the adoption of Latin names, language and alphabet started to take place in the context of a barely changed cultural identity:

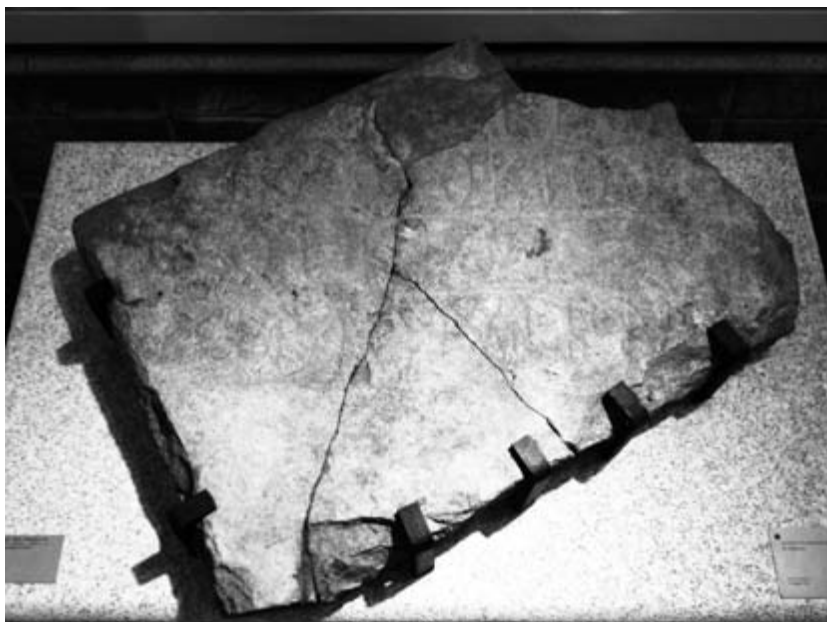


Figure 2.14 The Lepontic inscription from Cureggio (Novara): *[. . .] | [. . .]q[. . .] | [. . .]tq[. . .]jknos | Matopokios | Sola | Nimoniknā* (Museo di Antichità, Torino).¹

for example, Latin(ised) names are attested on inscribed cremation urns which were used in the traditional Venetic collective tombs and mausolea (cf. Lejeune 1978, 134; Untermann 1956).

As we have seen, the adoption of Latin and the conventions of Latin epigraphy seems to have taken place gradually. People first seem to have adopted individual Oscan, Etruscan and Latin names into their indigenous onomastic systems, followed by the use of Italo-Roman magistrates' titles, the direction of writing (e.g. from left to right on the latest Padane drachmas with *rikos* legend, cf. Pautasso 1962; also on the inscriptions from Vercelli and Briona), Latin letters and alphabets (e.g. the 'q' for *quaestor* in Oscan), Latin abbreviations and the creation of Roman-style *gentilicia*.

Compared to the adoption of Latin epigraphy as a new medium of communication in non-literate societies, such as the Tres Galliae (cf. Woolf 1996), the change from Lepontic epigraphy to the Latin alphabet and language is much more difficult to explain. Why did people abandon their own epigraphic systems at the peak of their development? Cases like Vercellae remind us that the local social agent had the capacity to adapt indigenous writing systems to the new social and political reality and that people like Akisios did not yet feel it necessary to acquire a Latin name or title. At the same time, Briona, Vercellae and Todi are just the tip of

the iceberg that manifested the extent to which the Latin language must have already become a useful means of communication for local élites: Latin had become the *lingua franca* among many people that operated across Italy and beyond, not only in military campaigns, diplomacy and jurisprudence, but also in commerce and arts (e.g. rhetoric). While the first Latin graffiti belong to the first century BC, Latin was really only used on stone inscriptions from the Augustan period onwards, except for Vercellae, copying the monumental style of contemporary inscriptions in Rome (*v. infra*). Are practical reasons sufficient to explain this change to Latin? Or should we ask instead whether Lepontic inscriptions would still make sense to display the personal and collective identities of Roman citizens in a ‘unified Italy’ from the Augustan period onwards. The abandonment of Lepontic therefore largely correlates with the end of the indigenous Iron Age cultures.

2.7 THE LAST GENERATION OF ‘CELTO-LIGURIANS’

Like epigraphy, material culture and rituals reflected people’s discrepant identities in the rapidly changing world of the first century BC. Funerary evidence in particular seems to reveal the ‘bricolage’ of grave goods, dress and rituals of local and Italo-Roman origin, but it also shows the end of ‘traditional’ elements of Iron Age origin. It is very important to reassess the significance of the various elements. Imported objects are relatively rare in Northwest Italy and *vernice nera*, for example, is therefore often considered an important indicator of ‘*Romanitas*’. But we need to see the whole picture: taking into account the minute quantities of this fine tableware, the limited number of pottery forms and especially their primary use in Northwest Italy in a traditional feasting and funerary context, it becomes clear that we are not dealing with the wholesale adoption of a Greco-Roman lifestyle. Instead, its use reflects indigenous rationalities in making choices and in integrating alien elements to suit local cognition. Imported objects were used side-by-side with local and Transalpine Iron Age artefacts and rituals, as we shall see in the case of the warrior graves of Esino and Misano di Gera d’Adda (*v. infra*), showing that the motivation to adopt these artefacts must have been above all their rarity and value that predestined them as status symbols. Compared to the combination of La Tène and Golasecca-style rituals during the second century BC (e.g. at Dormelletto), local funerary practices evolved dramatically in the first century BC, raising the question of the extent to which the acceptance of Italo-Roman funerary practices also implies the adoption of Italo-Roman afterlife beliefs or changes in identity. It is also possible that these new practices were simply considered more appropriate to display the status of a larger number of people who had

acquired a certain degree of wealth and could afford an ostentatious burial.

Representative of these last generations of people who used Iron Age artefacts and rituals, increasingly combining them with new cultural propositions, are the people buried in Lomellina, in Oleggio, Gravelona Toce and Ornavasso. A contextual analysis is important since the presence or absence of 'Roman' artefacts should not overshadow the persistence of local funerary practices and the alienation (or 'creolisation') of Roman elements. Despite their rural location, these people had access to the nearby market towns, like Vercellae, Novaria or Dertona, and they must have also experienced societal change, especially developments initiated by the *lex Pompeia*.

One traditional *leitmotif* for cultural change is *vernice nera* as it is one of the few recognisable imports in Republican Northwest Italy that stands out in the archaeological record. Grassi (1995, 88) even called it the 'fossile-guida della romanizzazione,' and Frontini (1985, 160) asserts that 'the connection between the advance of Roman culture and the presence of black-glaze pottery is clear'. But we need to rethink this 'clear connection'. First we need to understand the production and distribution of *vernice nera*: in the second and first centuries BC, most of the black-glaze ware in the Northwest was produced in the Etruscan town of Volterra (and later also at Arezzo, cf. Frontini and Grassi 1998; Frontini *et al.* 1998; Morel 1998a; 1998b). But in a long-term perspective, the production centres and trade routes are virtually identical to the pre-Roman period, in particular for Etruscan bucchero (cf. e.g. Bartolini 2010). And although *vernice nera* was imported into Cisalpine Gaul from the fourth century BC, it remains rare in the Northwest prior to the second century BC (Grassi 1995, 85–8). Even in Lomellina *vernice nera* was only adopted in the early first century BC, despite the proximity of the rivers Ticino and Po, the colony Dertona and the *uia Postumia*. Was there no demand for imported luxury products? Or perhaps people could not afford them because most of them still struggled to survive in a subsistence economy prior to the first century BC?

Moreover, in order to assess the social significance behind *vernice nera*, we have to look at the context in which it was used. Only a small range of forms was imported which could have hardly been used for a Roman-style dinner table but may have been employed in feasting and banqueting, probably mainly in the funerary context. For instance, Bolla (1991, 148; 1992–1993) suggests that *vernice nera* was used for purifications during the funerary banquet at a tomb at Misano (Gallarte). It is therefore difficult to see a relationship with concepts like '*Romanitas*' or an indicator of societal change: we cannot follow Frontini (1985, 25) who deduces that *vernice nera* reflects 'l'adozione

di costumi propriamente romani da parte dei gruppi locali'. Instead it appears that the motivation to use *vernice nera* was not very different from the use of any other import, be it Greco-Roman, Etruscan or Transalpine La Tène.

Imitations of black-glaze ware raise a very different set of questions. These imitations by local workshops, especially from Milan, the Lomellina and perhaps Cremona that supplied our area of study with a small range of shapes down to the Augustan period (cf. Frontini 1985), are more widely attested in Northwest Italy than the original *vernice nera* from Volterra and Arezzo. Frontini (1985), for example, assumes that local imitations were necessary in order to fulfil the increasing demand for black-glaze ware, which would imply that the form and fabric had acquired meaning to express people's status and lifestyle, though this need not be related to notions of a particular Italo-Roman lifestyle. Above all, the local imitations used Italo-Roman techniques which revitalised local pottery production (cf. Grassi 1995) and would suggest a selective adoption that worked within the existing sociocultural perceptions. A study of late Republican production centres of black-glaze ware in Southern Gaul concluded that local productions were aimed for and run by immigrants from Central and South Italy (Mauné and Sanchez 1999). Altogether, it seems unlikely that *vernice nera* indicates aspirations to a Roman lifestyle since it merely replaced the Etruscan bucchero of previous centuries. As we shall see, the case of Samian ware in the Principate is different because of the sheer scale of production, the new lines of communication from Southern Gaul and the wide-ranging abandonment of local pottery styles in Northwest Italy.

Another interesting artefact is the *strigiles*—for Grassi (1995, 82) an indicator for 'early Romanisation'—which can be found at numerous cemeteries like Oleggio in the second and first centuries BC. The strigil is interesting because it reflects changing attitudes towards the body, suggesting a new lifestyle and that the symbolic value of the strigils were used to identify the bearer as a participant 'in una società evoluta e raffinata' (Grassi 1995, 82). Of course, we are primarily dealing here with Hellenistic ideals and not a particularly Roman identity (cf. Jehasse 1998, 85). Moreover, as we would hardly expect to find *strigiles* in a funerary context in Rome, their presence in Northwest Italy makes them once more an example of alienation: and with people's increasing integration, they largely disappeared from the funerary record from the late first century BC.

The use of Italo-Roman objects should not overshadow significant developments in local material culture during the late Republic. The most common prestige goods in the second and first centuries BC were the *vaso a trottola* and decorated La Tène pottery (Figures 2.15–2.16). The former only appeared in great number during a nominally Roman period, mainly



Figure 2.15 Various types of *vasi a trottola* that are typical for the La Tène period in Northwest Italy: a) two La Tène C2 *vasi a trottola* from Garlasco—Madonna delle Bozzoe (Lomellina, c. 150 BC); b) La Tène D *vaso a trottola* from the cemetery of Valeggio, Lomellina (c. 100–50 BC); c) *vaso a trottola* with geometric decoration from Tomb 34 of the cemetery of Dormelletto, end of second century BC; d) Tomb 52 of the Iron Age cemetery of Dormelletto, c. 125–75 BC; e) *vaso a trottola* from Tomb 30 of the cemetery of Gravellona Toce, c. 75–50 BC.¹

in the second and first centuries BC (Grassi 1995, 83). It was a wine vessel whose form might have been inspired by Golasecca objects (cf. Negroni Catacchio 1975, 335, 339, *contra* Arslan 1984, 129). The Lomellina seems to have been one of the major production centres until the *vasi a trottola* were replaced by Roman *olpai* after the mid-first century BC. Decorated La Tène pottery, similar in style to Transalpine La Tène

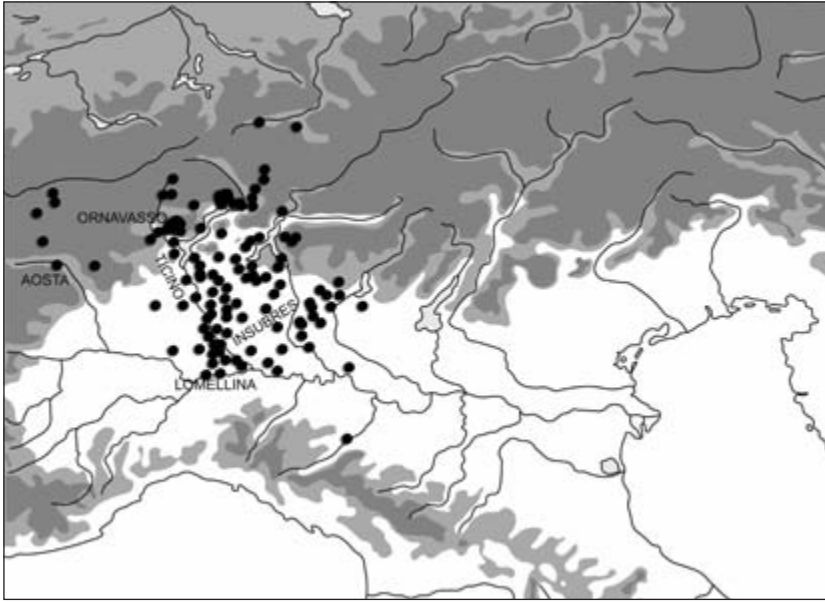


Figure 2.16 Distribution map of *vasi a trottola* in the second and first centuries BC (based on Piana Agostinetti 1990; map: author).

pottery (Grassi 1995, 83), is equally attested in a rural and proto-urban context: even more, the period of its greatest diffusion is in the mid-first century BC, just before we witness the rapid decline of Cisalpine Iron Age culture. This choice for local prestige goods does not indicate ‘cultural resistance’, but above all that a larger number of people was able to invest in self-representations and status display while using ‘traditional’ artefacts: in a funerary context, this could also reflect deliberate archaising trends (*v. infra*).

A number of sites document the seemingly ‘mixed’ character of artefact assemblages, allowing us to rethink issues of cultural choices as indicators of identity. At Misano di Gera d’Adda (Lombardy), we find the isolated, late second-century BC cremation tomb of an outstanding male individual. Being situated just *c.* 30km east of Mediolanum, half way on the road to Brescia/*Brixia* and north of the colony Cremona, Misano was no remote location and people could profit from important axes of communication. We therefore find prestigious Italo-Roman bronze objects, strigils, coins and black-glaze tableware, as well as a silver mirror which is exceptional in the Transpadana, especially in a male funerary context (Grassi 1995, 78). For Grassi (1995, 79), this shows ‘l’adozione di usi estranei al mondo indigeno’ and a strong Hellenistic-Roman component.

On the other hand, certain grave goods and funerary rituals reflect local ‘traditions’, like a rare La Tène sword, a spear, a *vaso a trottola* and locally produced Misano-type brooches (cf. Tizzoni 1985, fig. 3.6; Piana Agostinetti 1990, 175, fig. 19).

But does this reflect a Roman or Romano-Celtic identity? Or is it typical of Insubrian elite identity in the second century? We have to ask what motivated the people involved in this funerary ceremony to make these choices. These grave goods are not just an arbitrary assemblage of artefacts that were available on the ‘market’, but they reflected conscious choices. It seems that aspects of people’s social and religious identity remained embedded in the existing symbolic language: first, the cremation ritual had become common for male burials in the late Iron Age (*v. supra*, Dormelletto); second, the traditional dress is a sign of the deceased’s group identity and the Misano-type brooch is typical of the Insubres (Piana Agostinetti 1990, 175, fig. 19); third, the deceased’s status and his social function as warrior or defender of the community was symbolised by Iron Age attributes. Displaying a person’s wealth and status by a large number of grave goods—whether imported or locally produced—is typical of ‘Celtic’ burial practices, but not common in Rome. The *vaso a trottola* is so typical in this region that a tomb without it would have been exceptional for the period 200–50 BC; we therefore need to consider other possible symbolic meanings of this vessel beyond its purpose as a wine vessel in a ‘symposium’. Considering Misano’s location, one might have expected a larger proportion of Italo-Roman artefacts: it seems that they were mere ‘prestige goods’ whose original function had not yet been internalised. Altogether, the choices resemble those from other elite tombs in Northwest Italy in this period. But does Misano reflect the ‘creole’ identities of its inhabitants in this period? Here we have to take into account that funerary rituals also include many archaising trends, especially in periods of social upheaval. Also, the rituals and objects resulted from the decisions of the deceased’s heirs, the expectations of the local community and the priests who were involved in the funeral: these people might have intended to affirm the deceased’s status or even a heightened status. Dress and weaponry, for example, might have been losing their meaningfulness in everyday life, but not yet in a funerary context.

A comparable warrior burial at Esino in Northern Lombardy shows many parallels with Misano, although it dates to the end of the first century BC (cf. Tizzoni 1986, 202). Italo-Roman objects are much rarer which may be explained by the more remote location, though the Roman colony of Novum Comum (77/59 BC) is nearby. Again, we find this typical ‘bricolage’ of prestige goods of different cultural backgrounds: Italo-Roman, Cisalpine and Transalpine La Tène, as well as Golasecca. People

made conscious cultural choices to construct their identities. Again, it is the weaponry which is embedded in local traditions: La Tène sword, shield boss, knife, two spears and an axe. Dress items stylistically even go back to Golasecca times, like the arm-ring (Golasecca II) and the bronze double-ribbon spirals (Golasecca III) (cf. De Marinis 1981, fig. 6). The pottery still contains a number of La Tène artefacts, like *vasi a trottola*, but there are also Roman *olpai*. Even at the end of the first century BC, *Romanitas* was not yet an issue at Esino.

As we have seen, the use of Italo-Roman artefacts alone does not indicate social integration or a conscious expression of '*Romanitas*'. However, for Grassi (1995, 82), pottery shows the evolution of customs in a Roman sense, and she concludes that our evidence reflects 'l'ultima "resistenza" alla completa integrazione' in Lombardy. Within this model of a 'progressive Romanisation', the lack of black-glaze oil lamps, for example, in a funerary context must reflect, for Grassi (1995, 88), the incomplete 'assimilation' of customs of Roman traditions as late as the first century BC, considering that there were production centres for black-glaze oil lamps north of the Po (e.g. at Cremona). Instead of cultural resistance, we should focus on the process of bricolage: local people revitalised their artistic abilities, increased local productions and strengthened local identities. Despite the presence of *vernice nera*, decorated ceramics and the alienation of Italo-Roman artefacts in a native funerary context demonstrate the strength of local cultures and the persistence of existing sociocultural cognition, which make doubtful the importance of isolated imported products.

In contrast to black-glaze ware, dress provides very different information on people's identity. Dress reveals people's multiple identities, like their adherence to a particular ethnic or social group, their status, gender or age group, and it may provide data on people's wealth, profession and fashion. It therefore provides a complex language to express a person's position in society. Brooches are often the only item of dress that is preserved in the archaeological context. It is therefore significant to see that the people in Northwest Italy continued to wear the traditional costume down to the late first century BC, although burials were increasingly well-equipped with prestigious Italo-Roman pottery and bronze vessels at that time, despite the occasional use of Italo-Roman names and the legal enfranchisement in the first century BC. The continued use of Ligurian-style conical buttons (Figure 2.17; cf. Gambari and Venturino Gambari 1987; Arslan 1995) and brooches of middle La Tène style (Figure 2.18; cf. Vannacci Lunazzi 1982; Piana Agostinetti 1990, 175, fig. 19; Arslan 1991) down to the Augustan period provides a strong statement of a group identity that was embedded in traditional forms, at least in a funerary context. For example, there are 146 La Tène brooches at the cemetery of

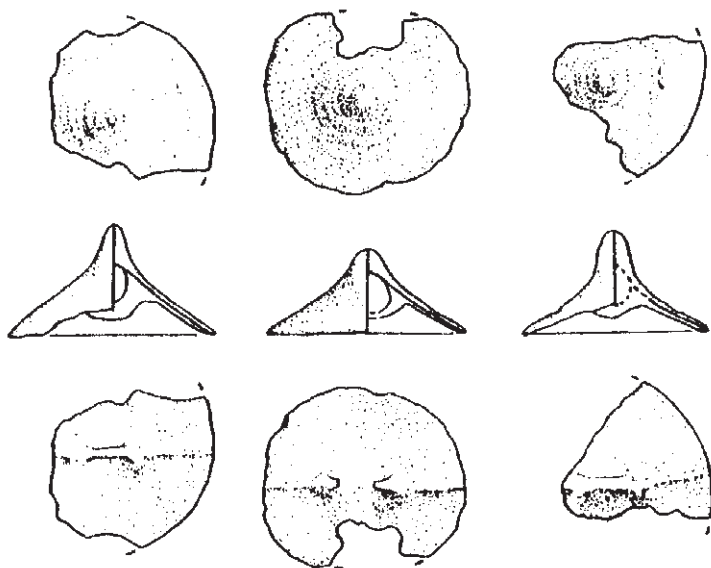


Figure 2.17 Ligurian *bottoni conici*: part of women's dress in Liguria down to the Augustan period, from Casalcermelli (Alessandria), hamlet Portanuova, Tomb 3, later half of the second century BC.¹



Figure 2.18 La Tène brooches from Valeggio (Pavia). The larger ones are called 'Pavese' and are typical for the Lomellina; the smaller one is a so-called middle La Tène fibula that continued in use down to the Augustan period.¹

Oleggio (Novara) which for Ecclesia (1999) was a deliberate expression of adherence to a 'Celtic ethnos'. In the first century BC, there was a variety of types of brooches down to c. 30–20 BC, like the Nauheim-type brooches which were typical for the area around the Novarese, Lombardy and the canton Ticino. But in the Augustan period, there were



Figure 2.19 A ritually bent sword from the late Iron Age cemetery of Oleggio (Novara), hamlet Loreto, Tomb 106 (later half of the second, beginning of the first century BC).¹

many changes: the later brooches were more standardised, while other items of dress disappeared in the late first century BC, like belts in male dress and necklaces in female dress (Spagnolo Garzoli 1999); further north at Locarno, men's group identity seems to have become even more 'Roman' with the disappearance of the Ornavasso-style La Tène fibulae and therefore of the indigenous cloak (Martin-Kilcher 1998).

Throughout the first centuries BC and AD, the self-representation of men seems to change long before that of women. For example, the latest La Tène brooches come from a female grave at Oleggio from the mid-first century AD (Spagnolo Garzoli 1999): the same is seen at Ornavasso (Martin-Kilcher 1998, 235); likewise for the continued presence of *bottoni conici* as typical components of female dress in Liguria. This also seems to be the case in the provinces, like a female grave with La Tène pottery and an arm ring in the Belgica (Metzler 1989) or the representations of women in art and iconography both in Italy and in many provinces of the Principate (cf. Nünnerich-Asmus 1999 on Spain). All this seems to imply that women's rôles and group identities were less subject to changing sociocultural and socioeconomic conditions and that women were not faced with the same pressure to adapt their social functions as men. In the first century BC, integration into the Roman army, hierarchy and economy seems largely to have been a man's affair: and men therefore probably had fewer cultural choices when adapting to new power and status symbols. But the evidence for female identity might also reflect that cultural conformity to existing male-female relationships continued to be expressed in indigenous Iron Age customs.

The change in men's social rôles is of course also reflected in the presence—or rather absence—of weaponry in the funerary record. As in Ameglia and Misano, swords and spears reflected the status and military and/or protective rôle of the local aristocracy. The rarity of weapons in Insubrian territory might suggest disarmament by the Romans (*v. supra*), but the chronological and spatial distribution of warrior graves shows that already in the mid-third century BC most warrior graves clustered at the margin of Insubrian territory, for example in the Ticino Valley, but hardly in the region of Mediolanum (Piana Agostinetti 1990). West of the Ticino there are many late Iron Age warrior graves with the distinctive Celtic long sword, often ritually destroyed in the funerary context (Figure 2.19; e.g. at Oleggio, cf. Grassi 1995, 79). In the Lomellina, weaponry disappeared by c. 100 BC, while helmets and swords continued into LT D1 further north, for example at Borgovercelli and Vinzaglio (near Vercellae; cf. Gambari 1985a, 1988b). At Oleggio, Dormelletto and Ornavasso, people even continued to use weapons in a funerary context down to the end of the first century BC despite their enfranchisement (cf. Spagnolo Garzoli 1999b). In this respect, the grants of Latin rights and Roman citizenship between 89 and 49 BC may have been an important stimulus for reinventing élite identities in the Northwest, developing a new group identity, but the funerary evidence may well lag behind.

Consequently we have two distinct developments during the Roman period. On the one hand, weapons remained popular as grave goods along the Ticino Valley, perhaps even stimulated by people's increasing participation in the Roman army during the first century BC, though we hardly find a Roman *gladios* as a grave good (in any case, it might only indicate a change in fighting techniques, not identity). On the other hand, the early absence from Insubrian core territory may highlight a social development by which the group identity of the local aristocracies moved away from the fourth-century warrior image to other aspects, focusing on new cultural symbols and icons of power (like the *vaso a trottola*, Padane drachmas, Lepontic epigraphy, strigils, black-glaze ware, etc.) reflecting the élite's changing function in society and a new self-identity that perhaps foreshadows Mediolanum's rôle as a political and cultural centre.

Changes in burial practices provide a rather different set of motivations compared to changes in grave good assemblages. The adoption of Italo-Roman tomb constructions cannot be explained by some long-distance trade contacts, but by an exchange of information, probably even first-hand knowledge. Individuals may have chosen these elaborate rituals because they were more suitable for displaying their status. Other rituals may have contradicted indigenous beliefs, such as the use of the typical Greco-Roman Charon coin (*ναυλον*) (cf. Bergonzi and Piana Agostinetti 1987), for example in the cemetery of Alagna Lomellina

(Diana 1999, 173) and Garlasco Baraggia (Bottinelli and Melley 1999); but the Charon coin might well have been adapted to indigenous cognition (cf. Kleinschmidt forthcoming).

As we have seen earlier, people used both inhumation and cremation in Northwest Italy at the end of the Iron Age. We also find depositions of bodies without any protection, for example at Oleggio, Dormelletto and Arsago Seprio. Similar to Ameglia, the ‘casetta’ tombs (*cassetta litica*) often continued down to the late Republic. Even in the first-century cemetery of Oleggio, we find indirect cremation tombs enclosed by a box of stone slabs within a tumulus (e.g. Tombs 9, 11, 18 and 31), very closely resembling the early Iron Age Golasecca rituals at Castelletto Ticino and San Bernardino di Briona (cf. Gambari 1986). Surprisingly, the highest concentration of *cassetta litica* tombs was in the first century BC: but this does not reflect cultural resistance to ‘Romanisation’, and it most likely results from the wish for a more elaborate display of status and wealth by an increasing number of people who could afford these tomb constructions. In this respect, the tombs constructed with a rectangular box of *tegulae* (starting in Valeggio, Lomellina c. 70–50 BC) could be considered to be a ‘cheaper’ version of the local ‘casetta’ tombs (cf. Grassi 1995, 78). But although the tiles are typically Roman—and Cremona seems to have been an important tile production centre in this period—their use need not indicate the adoption of Roman rituals: but it was probably a question of status and resources, i.e. the tiles may indicate a lower status of the deceased compared to the more expensive stone slabs. After the mid-first century BC, this type of tomb construction declined rapidly in use, though still sporadically used during the early Principate, mainly in the region around Como (cf. Grassi 1995, 77–8).

Chronology of Change

We need a better understanding of people’s choices in a funerary context after 100 BC which created very dynamic processes that probably mirrored drastically changing ideologies and mentalities. The local population experienced a period when Iron Age artefacts lost their intrinsic values, their connotations and their force to motivate and inspire people’s behaviour. Considering the rapidity of changing socioeconomics in the world of the living during the first century BC, we also need to take into account possible archaising trends which were aimed to consolidate existing social hierarchies and people’s traditional rôles in a rapidly changing world. The various cemeteries in Oleggio, Ornavasso and in the Lomellina allow us a contextual analysis. Each site shows different geographies of change: in the Lomellina, for example, the trade connections that facilitated access to imported artefacts were readily available

since people traditionally engaged in long-distance exchange along the Ticino and Po rivers; but the Lomellina had also been used as a burial ground since the Golasecca period which was mirrored in traditional funerary rituals, while material culture reflected the strong contacts with Insubres and Vertamocori.

Among the many cemeteries in the Lomellina that document the transition from late Iron Age to the Principate, the focus here is on Valeggio-Cascina Tesserà (207 tombs, LT C2 to Flavian period, cf. Vannacci Lunazzi 1978), Garlasco Baraggia (125 first-century BC tombs, cf. Bottinelli and Melley 1999) and Gambolò-Belcreda (41 tombs, cf. Vannacci Lunazzi 1983). Tomb 126 at Valeggio, for example, is typical of the early first century BC: it included two *vasi a trottola*, one knife, brooches of middle La Tène type and imitations of Campanian black-glaze ware (common in the Lomellina from c. 100 BC) (Figure 2.20);



Figure 2.20 Valeggio, Tomb 126 of the early first century BC with its typical grave goods. The large quantity of grave goods had only become common in the second century BC (Vannacci Lunazzi 1978, fig. 15).¹

similarly Tomb 21 at Gambolò-Belcreda contained a knife and *vasi a trottola* (Figure 2.21). Knives as grave goods became rare after 80 BC as they probably were no longer meaningful to be associated with people of status. A very important indicator is also coarse ware in the Lomellina, which still resembled Golasecca-type coarse ware in the first century BC



Figure 2.21 Gambolò-Belcreda, Tomb 21 (120–70 BC) with *vasi a trottola*; Roman-style *olpai*, bowls and *patera* (photo: author; Museo della Lomellina, Gambolò).¹

(e.g. at Garlasco Baraggia; cf. Bottinelli and Melley 1999). Even in the latest phase of the cemetery Garlasco Baraggia, domestic coarse ware pottery and Iron Age funerary rituals persisted. Valeggio's Tomb 100 is characteristic of the period 80–30 BC: *olpai*-type vessels have replaced the *vasi a trottola*, though artefacts from Italo-Roman workshops only became more common after c. 40–30 BC. Most funerary goods are exemplary of the latest horizon of La Tène when tombs were constructed with tiles. In Tomb 12 at Gambolò, there was even an ash-bowl with the name *Vindonidius* (or *Vindoni(us) Dius*) written in the Latin alphabet which was a Celtic name common in Transalpine Keltiké (AE 1992, 845; *SuppIt* 9.T, 127). Dating of many graffiti from the Lomellina is controversial: after onomastic and epigraphic criteria many graffiti date to the second or first century BC, but ceramological studies suggest that some of them date to the first half of the first century AD (cf. AE 1992, 837–44). The most recent tomb at Gambolò in the Lomellina (no. 9) was constructed in a typical Italo-Roman ritual where the remains of the deceased were deposited between two amphorae that were cut in half. There is also the typical repertoire of 'Roman' grave goods consisting among others of oil lamps, glass balm vessels and *olpai*. Similarly at Oleggio, urns of local pottery were used for cremations which were sometimes positioned between amphorae in a more Italo-Roman ritual. Unlike in the Lomellina, weaponry continued as grave goods, such as

the spears in Tombs 4 and 11 of Oleggio, throughout the first century BC (cf. Spagnolo Garzoli 1999b). The people at Oleggio were rich, with funerary assemblages reflecting the wealth of imports. There are even numerous Gallo-Leponitic graffiti on potsherds. The scale and duration of the cemetery suggest an important settlement in the vicinity, such as the emerging nucleated settlements of the Novarese, notably Novara.

In the far north of our area of study, west of Lago Maggiore in the Val d'Ossola, two cemeteries at Ornavasso (San Bernardo and Persona) reveal a very similar chronology. Together they cover the period between c. 200 BC and AD 100 and allow us to study sociocultural transitions (cf. Graue 1974; Martin-Kilcher 1998). People's choices of grave goods largely seem to reflect the scale and nature of Transalpine trade along the Simplon Pass. But there are also many parallels with the Lomellina and Oleggio which seem surprising considering Ornavasso's much more remote location: besides the *vaso a trottola*, the first phase is characterised by the South-Alpine *Helmkopffibeln* and occasional swords of middle La Tène type, though weaponry is rare. Between 100 and 40 BC, people used brooches of late La Tène types (e.g. Almgren 65, Nauheim fibulae) and a local variant of middle La Tène type brooches. From this period, we also find various forms of Italic metal vessels, such as the so-called Alford pans. Compared to Oleggio, there is much more variety in weapon graves: besides swords of middle La Tène forms, there are those with characteristic late La Tène scabbards, accompanied by battle-axes, scissors and sickles, but we also find strigils. Imitation Campanian black-glaze ware is also present, resulting from increasing interaction with neighbouring regions, for example along the Ticino Valley. Unlike the Lomellina, cremations are uncommon at Ornavasso until the middle of the first century BC; and their introduction could have had various reasons, as at the cemetery of Dormelletto at the southern end of the Lago Maggiore (*v. supra*).

Between c. 90 BC and AD 10 the cemetery Ornavasso-Persona is marked by a certain range of new grave goods, such as the typical Italo-Roman swords (*gladios*), early types of one-handled jugs and local pottery styles, while the *vasi a trottolo* gradually disappeared. It is important to note that the appearance of Roman artefacts in the 30s and 20s BC was no gradual process, but a rupture in the cultural pattern of Ornavasso (Martin-Kilcher's 'Umbruch' (1998, 244)), which resulted in the disappearance of La Tène artefacts and the introduction of *terra sigillata*, glass, *unguentaria* and mirrors. Subsequently (10 BC–AD 50), glass vessels became a new status symbol; brooches with late La Tène characteristics disappeared completely, while only few middle La Tène features continued. But Ornavasso's '*Romanitas*' appears like a mere

episode. Some pre-existing values continued far beyond the middle of the first century AD, while the large number and wide range of prestigious Italo-Roman grave goods disappeared soon after the Augustan period. There were fewer glass balm vessels and no more silver coins, precious metals, Roman oil lamps or evidence for any tomb construction or funerary *stelai*, which were so typical for contemporary Roman cemeteries of the Principate (cf. Martin-Kilcher 1998, 231). Once Rome's major Transalpine artery went via Locarno, Ornavasso seemed to enter a state of hibernation. The massive use of Roman artefacts as grave goods at Ornavasso was above all an indigenous form of status display, reflecting a short phase with increased prosperity around the turn of the millennium.

Altogether, the funerary evidence has revealed a variety of social and cultural developments between the second and first centuries BC from gradual changes to abrupt changes. People's choices were not arbitrary: imported artefacts were generally used as 'prestige goods' in an indigenous context to signify the status of the deceased, while rituals, dress and weaponry reflected local 'traditions' together with indigenous rituals, such as the destruction of grave goods. The increasingly ostentatious burials, the widespread use of decorated pottery, *vasi a trottola*, black-glaze ware and 'cassetta' tombs mirrored above all social competition and tensions, suggesting that a larger number of people could afford to display their wealth and status: people adopted local forms of status display, notably elite behaviour.

But at the same time, people also experimented with new cultural elements. The rare use of amphorae halves and Charon coins (funerary practices known from the Italian peninsula) were a late adoption that showed increasing transcultural interaction in the Northwest. This shows the exchange of ideas across Italy, though we can also think of possible indigenous interpretations for the Charon coins. Aspects of people's group identities, such as dress, are the most conservative in a funerary context, which explains the persistence of La Tène brooches and Ligurian conical buttons down to the first century BC and beyond. Interestingly, middle La Tène fibulae are still attested in a funerary context at a time when even late La Tène brooches had disappeared in Northwest Italy: also, women's identities seem to have changed much later, probably since male-female relationships were expressed by traditional values. But we should take into account archaising trends since the funerary evidence mirrors an idealised image of the deceased and his/her social relations: it reflects intentions, ambitions and ideologies. The social rôle of the deceased is a construction of the next of kin who made appropriate choices: material culture was thus manipulated in the sphere of ritual activities (Tilley 1984). Within

a society that was changing rapidly in the first century BC, the funerary evidence therefore may reflect the wish to consolidate social relations and cultural understandings (cf. Haeussler 2009).

Despite the huge geographical and socioeconomic differences, we have recognised surprisingly parallel developments and chronologies from the Lomellina to Ornavasso, but there are also important differences regarding the rôle of cremation, weaponry, Charon coins, and so on. Throughout the first century BC, we witness how local people created a new symbolic framework, competed in their status displays—a process which reflects transformations, perhaps tensions, within social relations. But it is the enormous changes to the indigenous funerary assemblages and rituals between the 40s and 20s BC when virtually all artefact types were replaced within less than one generation (the intrinsic value of Iron Age artefacts, like *vasi a trottola*, was lost), which most likely reflects profound societal change: it is a rupture that affects so many aspects in local cultures that one might expect a profound legitimization crisis in local social relations to make possible this rupture. Issues of ‘*Romanitas*’ are unlikely since burials mirror above all questions of age, rank, gender and group identity, but the adoption of *terra sigillata*, oil lamps and glass vessels reflect increasing participation in a ‘global’ society.

2.8 CONCLUSION: PERSISTENCE, BRICOLAGE AND RUPTURE

This chapter has shown major points that are important in understanding sociocultural change in a period under Roman domination. First of all, we have seen that the individual could adopt numerous strategies and was not pressured to ‘Romanise’ his/her lifestyle. The archaeological evidence suggests two major turning points after which local socioeconomic and cultural understandings appear to have been profoundly restructured: the alleged ‘Celtic invasion’ and the period between Caesar and Augustus, while the Roman conquest did not seem to have initiated any overwhelming changes. Despite Roman warfare, *tributum*, land confiscation and colonisation during the second and first centuries BC, ‘*Romanitas*’, Roman lifestyle or Roman identity were not issues for people in Northwest Italy, not even for the local élites who used a selection of Italo-Roman artefacts as prestige goods in social transactions and funerary rituals, just as they had previously used Etruscan or Transalpine Hallstatt/La Tène artefacts. People’s cognitions and identities were still rooted in local cultures and traditions, though the repertoire of objects, language, onomastics was gradually being enlarged. Local cultures continued to persist and to thrive for many generations. There were many innovations in this period, but they took place within the existing mentalities and mechanisms of society. Changes were slow

and incremental. This was going to change after 100 BC with people adopting new forms of status display and new identities. This mirrors a period of social upheaval, eventually leading to a 'rupture' in social expression in the second half of the first century BC. The grants of *ius Latii* and Roman citizenship, together with participation in Italy-wide society, economy, politics and warfare, not only provided important motivational factors to the social agent, but also significantly undermined existing hierarchies and ideologies.

Throughout the late Iron Age we can recognise the bricolage of local identities, taking up substance from the local Iron Age 'cultures' as well as Transalpine La Tène and a small Italo-Roman input. The region along the river Ticino appears as a particularly active region throughout the Iron Age, though central places moved south from the Lago Maggiore to Mediolanum, Novaria and Vercellae between the fifth and the first centuries BC. This region represents a sense of local identity that goes back to the Golasecca period: artefacts, rituals and probably also cultural understandings attributed to the Golasecca culture continued to shape people's behaviour down to the late first century BC. The alleged 'Celtic invasion' of 388 BC had only a limited impact in the Northwest where La Tène artefacts are particularly rare. Instead new hybrid cultures evolved in a cultural debate between autochthonous and La Tène cultures.

Local cultures were alive and well and continued to evolve in the Roman period. People developed new forms of prestigious local pottery, like the *vasi a trottola*, while the use of Lepontic epigraphy and the increasingly non-Classical iconography of the Padane drachma reflect increasing self-identity and self-esteem in a nominally Roman period. This represents an indigenous mindset and we may ask provocatively whether the archaeological record of Northwest Italy would have looked significantly different in the second century BC if there had not been a Roman conquest. Even the presence of important Roman market places, like Cremona and Piacenza, did not flood Northwest Italy with Italo-Roman products. The few imports in the second century BC largely consisted of luxury objects, used in a funerary context and whose meaning was generally alienated. Existing socioeconomics and cultural understanding not only persisted, but local élites also seemed to have limited access to markets and wealth by subaltern classes.

Many developments were endogenous processes, some of which went back to pre-Roman times. But these developments also had to be adapted to the new realities of the post-conquest situation. For example, the resurgence of Lepontic epigraphy mirrored an increase in literacy across Roman Italy in this period (cf. Haeussler and Pearce 2007). And although the Padane drachma reflects indigenous socioeconomics, its continued success in the second century resulted from the need to reimburse clients

and vassals who fought side-by-side with the Rome and her allies year after year. In addition, the use of drachmae and epigraphy also indicates accelerating state-formation processes that had already been taking place across Northwest Italy, also stimulating endogenous forms of urbanisation in Mediolanum or Vercellae.

In the second century BC, places like Mediolanum and Genua represent the political, cultural and economic centres for the *Transpadani* and Ligurians, while Rome only slowly became a point of reference in the first century BC. The grants of Latin rights and Roman citizenship had an enormous impact on people's identity and cultural expressions. Among other things, individuals had the opportunity to improve their social status by moving to town, migrating to another region, catering to market demands or by joining the Roman legions. Many more people could acquire wealth and therefore aimed to display their status by 'emulating' traditional elite behaviour, by adopting more and more elaborate rituals, more luxurious objects and new media, like stone inscriptions. As a result, people experimented with social expression in the local context in the first century BC. The inscriptions from Vercellae and Briona provide a rare insight into the complex make-up of identities in this period—the bricolage of indigenous and Italo-Roman cognitions—though people like Akisios or Kuitos had no intention of displaying a Roman identity. At the same time, the funerary evidence reveals a period during which rituals, beliefs and material culture were rapidly changing. While Italo-Roman grave goods largely reflected people's increasing wealth and accessibility to markets, the long persistence of Iron Age artefacts, dress and *cassetta litica* tombs beyond the middle of the first century BC seems surprising when we consider the extent to which people were already integrated in Italy-wide social and economic structures after the Social War. Caesar's governorship (58–51 BC) and the Civil Wars (49–45 BC) must have been significant experiences for a large proportion of the local population, creating a new common consciousness in Italy. But even the block grant of citizenship did not result in an immediate reorientation of people's choices of artefacts. Instead, there seems to have been a peak in Iron Age objects as grave goods in the first century BC. Society was certainly changing significantly, but in the funerary record—our major source for this period—there is a certain time lag due to archaising trends. Many indigenous people took the chances to by-pass local institutions and hierarchies and thus undermined existing societal patterns (also see *lex de Gallia Cisalpina*, v. *infra*). Having travelled across the Mediterranean world under the leadership of charismatic Roman autocrats, like Caesar and Augustus, being increasingly inserted into Italy-wide economic and social relationships, the sub-élite classes challenged existing hierarchies after having acquired wealth and status outside traditional communities. This could have

created a legitimating crisis in the local societies which resulted in the profound and deep-reaching changes that we can recognise in the second half of the first century BC (though some elements, like coarse ware, funerary rituals and Celtic onomastics persisted). We are talking about a process that lasted a couple of decades—and perhaps the social agents involved hardly noticed it since different elements changed at different times—but it appears like a rupture in the archaeological context when compared to the long period of gradual and incremental change that preceded it.

As a result, people had more choices, but external factors also became increasingly important in the local decision-making process, affecting the spontaneity of the adoption process. We should not see sociocultural change as a mere reaction or response to external factors. Instead there are internal motivations, especially the personal ambitions and aspirations of the political actors and their ability to exploit concepts, like external threats, in order to create coercion. The following Chapter aims to provide an overview of the Roman framework, which provided forms of dependency and opportunity. As a result, choices for the locals became increasingly reduced due to new social and ideological guidelines that are part of the Roman framework. People can make a variety of choices in response to Roman imperialism, but during the Principate, choice was increasingly limited.

NOTES

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CHAPTER THREE



The Roman Framework: Overpowering or Make-believe?

It is important to reassess the impact of Roman imperialism. So far, we have seen that imperialism had its limitations. Conquest, enslavement, exploitation, tribute, taxation and colonisation could not pressure people to adopt a common Roman identity for many generations after the conquest of Northwest Italy. By contrast, legal changes, like the grant of Latin rights, appear to have been more significant in provoking change. In this chapter, we examine a number of additional factors that potentially influenced personal decision-making in Northwest Italy, such as economic changes, municipalisation and the physical reorganisation of the landscape.

Throughout history, empires manifest their presence through a landscape and architecture of power (cf. De Marrais *et al.* 1996, 29–30; Haeussler 1999). The Roman landscape was no different in that it provided a clear representation of Roman domination. Indigenous landscapes were physically reorganised by roads, towns and centuriation, discarding indigenous boundaries, seemingly creating a tabula rasa which colonists could organise to their own liking, while employing architecture and art that intimidated the subject and embodied ideologies and religion. Roman landscapes might have been created by and for colonists, but besides rather mundane reasons of infrastructure and exploitation, they also symbolised the majesty and superiority of the Roman empire: urbanism meant *humanitas* and centuriation created a countryside that was ‘ordered’, not ‘chaotic’. Roman landscapes were characterised by a rigorous hierarchisation of settlements that were integrated in a Roman system of representation. The economic landscapes of Liguria and the Transpadana were becoming increasingly interdependent and interrelated during the Roman period. Existing communities were

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integrated in Roman concepts of cognition, such as a site's location on a *uia publica*, or the powerful renaming of indigenous sites in Northwest Italy with toponyms like *Pollentia*, *Hasta* or *Potentia*, 'strong, powerful, forceful', mirroring Rome's aim for supremacy (cf. Giorcelli Bersani 1994, 53).

But all this did not happen overnight. As already discussed, Roman imperialism provided a number of exogenous factors that created constraints and guidance to motivate the actions and decisions of an individual social actor and the development of various social groups. We have seen how peace-treaty stipulations could preserve pre-existing social mechanisms, while enfranchisement between 89 and 49 BC violated existing social hierarchies. Such an apparently 'simple' grant of privileges could have had enormous consequences on the decisions that the individual social agent could take in this changing world, being torn apart between traditional values and the new opportunities and requirements provided by the new privileges. But the *lex Pompeia* of 89 BC also caused the creation of Roman-style colonies made up of a series of indigenous communities and *ethnoi*. These municipalities had the important 'side-effect' of tearing apart (and perhaps even annihilating) indigenous social hierarchies by creating new social focal points, like civic cults, the local *ordo* and powerful *patroni* with direct links to Rome. Urbanism menaced existing socioeconomics, notably for the many people in small-scale communities living at subsistence level, while in every-day life, urbanism promoted a certain idea of a lifestyle that would become characteristic for the Principate. As we shall see, a very tight framework had been put in place by the early Principate—cities, land redistribution, settlers, taxation, laws and army—that provided new cultural models, social networks, economic dependencies and opportunities within which the individual social agent could act. With local sociocultural patterns facing a legitimisation crisis, local people could be guided by ideological ideas, like those deriving from Augustus's cultural revolution, bringing about motivated actions that caused existing social structures to change. But this was not all imposed by Rome: the 'natives' were largely responsible in shaping the character of their own towns, like Novaria, Vercellae, Carreum-Potentia, Albingaunum and many more.

Besides Rome exploiting and colonising its provinces, we also have to take into account the creation of an imaginary Roman society that consisted of discourses that helped to keep the empire together: the benevolence of Roman rule, Rome bringing 'civilisation' or the princeps' rôle as *pater patriae*. Parallels for the political significance of ideology can be found throughout history, aiming at promoting the 'ideal political order'. For example, monks' chronicles in pre-colonial Anruadhapura

reflect political integrity, the hierarchy of their pantheon mirrors social hierarchies, and rituals re-enact the scheme of domination and subordination (cf. Geertz 1980, 124; Gunawardana 1989, 172–5). This seems to be a useful way of thinking about the literary tradition of the Principate, notably of Livy, Horace, Vergil and Ovid. But we should not ignore how people in Republican Italy used religion to negotiate power relations. Rome's *euocatio* of foreign tutelary deities and their integration into the Roman pantheon was a highly symbolic act of coercion (cf. Blomart 1997; Versnel 1999; Gustafsson 2000; Livy 5.21.3–7; Pliny *NH* 28.18; Serv. *Aen.* 2, 351; for an anthropological perspective on *euocatio*, cf. De Marrais *et al.* 1996, 28–9). Another important colonial discourse is origin myths as these can be used to legitimate the rôle of the state in imperial encounters, which is also attested, for example, in the Inca empire (cf. Bauer 1996). In the case of the Veneti, our sources record a number of different origin myths, like the story of the Trojan hero Antenor who led the Veneti from Troy to Venetia (Livy 1.1); the other Trojan hero was of course Aeneas, the progenitor of Rome, who served to give Romans and Venetians a common ancestry (cf. Šašel Kos 2008). It is therefore difficult to say who created which myth: the Venetians in order to legitimate their position as *amici* and *socii* of Rome or the Romans who intended to legitimate their rule over Venetia? Another set of origin myths inserts Celtic peoples into Hercules's mythical passage through Gaul and across the Alps. For example, there are also a number of myths for the Lepontii, inhabiting the region between Lago Maggiore and the source of the Rhine. Cato considered them to be of 'Tauriscan' origin (Cato *Orig.* fr. 37 in Pliny *NH* 3.134), for Livy they belonged to *antiqua Ligurum gens* (5.35), but in the words of Pliny 'most other writers, giving a Greek interpretation to their name, consider the Lepontii to have been those of the followers of Hercules who were left behind in consequence of their limbs being frozen by the snow of the Alps' (with Lepontii deriving from Greek *leipô*, 'to leave behind') (Pliny *NH* 3.134). In this way, the Lepontii became inserted in a Greco-Roman mythical narrative, just like the Venetians. Many ethnographic discourses aimed to marginalise 'indigenous' people as 'savages' or characterise their 'barbaric' behaviour as damaging to society (cf. Kistler 2009). But these origin myths could also have been employed by local people to their advantage, legitimating their rights, their independence and their eminence. Our sources largely deny us information on indigenous aspects of local mythological creation, but it seems that Greco-Roman mythology was employed by locals to shape their own identities in Cisalpine Gaul (also cf. Malkin 1998: mythology not only creates one's own identity, but also the identity of other people).

3.1 ECONOMIC LANDSCAPE

The world around the indigenous social agent had been slowly but surely changing over the course of the late Republic. One of the earliest Roman impacts concerns the economy since Rome used her right as conqueror to confiscate land, impose *tributum*, exploit mineral and agricultural resources and create colonies as military bases and market places. Roman roads and upgraded riverways provided the infrastructure for the movement of goods and people, markets and fairs facilitated access to commodities, thus providing economic opportunities for the local population, which may have been to the detriment of indigenous socioeconomic networks, perhaps necessitating a restructuring of social hierarchies. Economic changes could theoretically unbalance existing indigenous hierarchies, for example under the assumption of a prestige-goods economy. But Northwest Italy was not flooded by Italo-Roman products in the Republic. This seems surprising since many scholars consider the economic landscape essential for our understanding of the Roman empire (e.g. Mattingly 2006). One may argue that taxation was crucial in creating the need to produce a surplus, to adopt coinage, perhaps leading to an upsurge in cheap labour and creating the demand for alien products. But if these economic pressures were counteracted and opportunities were not taken up in second-century BC Northwest Italy, then the question arises as to the ‘real’ impact of Rome’s economic impositions. We need multifactorial explanations to elucidate change, taking into account additional stimuli. For example, surplus production was not only due to Roman tax requirements, but to finance the conspicuous lifestyle and display of status of an increasingly large number of wealthy people, i.e. there is a cultural component: why should élites adopt new media and new status symbols that go beyond their traditional resources?

At the centre of the economic system in Roman Italy was a complex system of taxes and tribute which must have had enormous implications for local socioeconomic structures ever since the Roman conquest. Levy, taxation and *tributum* were considered signs of dependence to Rome. Tertullian called them *notae captiuitatis* (Tert. *Apol.* 13.6) and Cicero ‘a reward for victory and a penalty for having made war’ (*quasi uictoriae praemium ac poena bella*, Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.12). The conquered provinces were considered the property of Rome (Gai. 2.7), and the provincial population therefore had to pay property and poll tax. *Tributum* was not only essential to keep the Roman war machine going, it also created powerful ties between Rome and its allies since the furnishing of military aid may have created a kind of common consciousness in Late Republican Italy. Evidence of the exact nature of taxation in the Northwest is

difficult to attain. The Cisalpine Gauls and Ligurians were laid under tribute (*Maccabees* I 8.2, late second century BC; Strabo 4.6.3.), but its precise nature and extent in the Republic, besides the supply of troops, remains unknown (cf. Gabba 1984b). We can assume that people had to pay the *stipendarium* or *vectigal certum* (an annual tax: cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.12; Festus 563[371 M]; Livy 33.47.1), the *censoria locatio* (on the land that was retained in the ‘public domain’) and a direct tax levied on farming as a percentage of the produce (e.g. 10% on grain, 20% percent on fruits or a fee on pasture, cf. *lex agraria* 14f, 24–6, 85f, 88f).

Taxation is often thought to have initiated important changes to existing socioeconomic systems, for example by giving rise to more efficient agricultural exploitation, surplus production and even the monetisation of the economy (*v. supra*, Chapter 2.3). The conscious imposition of direct taxes, aiming to promote adaptation and assimilation of ‘indigenous’ people is not unknown in modern colonial encounters, like the introduction of a poll tax in Cameroon in order to make the indigenous population work—it failed (Rowlands 1989, 265–6). Hopkins has argued that the need to raise money for taxes stimulated trade; similarly taxation was considered an essential factor for the economic, social and cultural development in Roman Spain (Hopkins 1980; Keay 1992; 1996). This is an important discussion if we want to evaluate the extent to which Roman taxation was important for sociocultural change and ultimately for people’s aspirations to a Roman lifestyle. But in the case of Cisalpine Gaul, the period in which we observe the most profound changes (*c.* 50–1 BC), is the period in which the people were largely exempt from taxation because of their status as Roman citizens. Moreover, trade in Italy was further stimulated by the abolition of many transit dues (*portorium*) by Metellus Nepos in 60 BC, though reinstituted by Caesar for foreign goods only, while some local transit dues might have continued to be collected (cf. Lintott 1993, 84; cf. Livy 38.44.4: Romans and Latins were exempt from custom dues).

In other words, taxation alone did not stimulate sociocultural change, while excessive taxation, requisition and extortion could even have been counterproductive and provoked tension and resistance to Roman rule (e.g. first-century AD Lower Germany; cf. e.g. Tac. *Germ.* 29.2 on the privileged position of the Batavi: *nam nec tributis contemnuntur nec publicanus atterit*, ‘for they are not insulted by tribute, nor ground down by the tax-gatherer’). Some Roman politicians were aware of the dangers of excessive exploitation, for example Cicero when accusing Verres of extortion in Sicily. Cicero noticed the clash of interest for a governor between good provincial government and defending the economic interests of Roman publicans; Caesar therefore removed the publicans from collecting taxes in Asia. Roman politicians increasingly wanted to

be seen as protecting local interests and supporting local people. Suetonius put these words into the mouth of the emperor Tiberius: ‘it was part of a good shepherd to shear his flock, not skin it’ ([. . .] *boni pastoris esse tondere pecus, non deglubere*) (Tib. 32.2).

Rome also exploited people’s mineral resources. Already in the second century BC, *publicani* exploited the gold mines in the Bessa region north of Vercellae:

exstat lex censoria Victumularum aurifodinae in Vercellensi agro, qua cauebatur, ne plus quinque milia hominum in opere publicani haberent.

There is extant also a censorial law relative to the gold mines of Victumulae, in the territory of Vercellae, by which the farmers of the revenue were forbidden to employ more than five thousand men at the works.

(Pliny NH 33.21[78])

Despite the 5,000 miners working there over a long period, the archaeological record mainly consists of pottery of the late Iron Age, occasionally associated with Republican coins (cf. Mercado 1990, 443; Bocca and Centini 1995). The miners were probably largely local people working for Roman publicans without any direct relation to the spread of Italo-Roman culture in the area. This is not to deny that there was change in the region, like the developments leading to the early ‘urbanisation’ of nearby Vercellae, but more importantly, the exploitation of the mines by publicans also means that this important resource of revenue was no longer controlled by local élites.

Another economic ‘threat’ must have been market towns. Cremona and Piacenza were the earliest colonies that had some remote impact on Northwest Italy, followed by Luna (177 BC), while our area of study was only opened up by the *uia Postumia* (148 BC) and *uia Fulvia* (125 BC) and its associated settlements (e.g. Dertona, Hasta, Forum Fulvii and Eporedia). Piacenza and Cremona were strategically situated at the margin of Insubrian territory to prevent invasion into the lower Po Valley. Profiting from the river Po (cf. Tozzi 1972, 12) and the 260km-long *uia Aemilia* from Ariminum to Placentia (187 BC), they became important exchange hubs between the Adriatic Sea and the Transpadana and Alpine regions (cf. Grassi 1990–91; 1993). Cremona and the *campi Macri* near Mantua (Strabo 5.1.11) hosted annual fairs from the second century BC onwards (cf. Gabba 1988b). For Cremona, Tacitus (*Hist.* 3.32.2) reports that ‘a great part of Italy was gathered there to attend a market’. But we should not overestimate the impact of such markets since the exchange between ‘natives’ and ‘colonists’ might have been similar to Strabo’s Ligurians who came to Genoa to exchange agricultural products against Italic wine, procuring the occasional luxury object. A concentration of Padane drachmas around Piacenza (cf. Arslan 2010)

may also indicate that an increasingly larger number of *Transpadani* could acquire Italo-Roman artefacts. The strategic location of Cremona and Piacenza might not only have had military reasons. In China, for example, annual fairs were specifically held along the frontiers beginning in 129 BC; in Chinese political thinking, trading with nomadic peoples had become synonymous with political control because trade replaced raids and the government exercised control by periodically granting or refusing access to certain goods (Szykiewicz 1989). A similar policy was known from the Principate when the Romans controlled the flow of goods across the *limes* into 'Germania libera'. It therefore seems possible to suggest that the annual fairs in Cisalpine Gaul might have had the side-effect of pacifying the Insubres and their neighbours by allowing them controlled access to goods, as this could have prevented incursions into the Po Valley and integrated local people into peaceful trade relations.

The potential threat of such markets to existing socioeconomics should not be underestimated. Compared to a remote colony like Cremona, how much more intense the effects of the 'réseau urbain' must have been that emerged in Northwest Italy during the first century BC? Besides colonial foundations and *conciliabula*, the Romans created special venues for market activities: *fora*, often associated with road construction (as in Forum Popilia, cf. ILS 23) and widely attested in our area of study: Forum Fulvii, Forum Germa and Forum Vibii Caburum. *Fora* are market towns with *ius nundinarum* (Galsterer 1976, 27). Despite the frequent association with native ethnicities (e.g. Forum Gallorum, Forum Druentinarum and Forum Germa(norum?)), *fora* were not founded by 'natives', but sites were chosen *ubi et incolere et mercari consueuerant Italici generis multi mortales* (Sall. *Iug.* 47, 1), thus providing the infrastructure for a Roman-style economy into which indigenous people could integrate, like farmers exchanging their surplus for Italo-Roman commodities (Forum Germa is most likely to be Forum Germa(norum); alternative explanations, like Forum Germa(nici) have also been suggested. cf. Camilla 1974; De Pasquale 1993; Lamboglia 1989).

But we have to go beyond this 'first-contact' scenario between colonists and natives. By securing new markets, consumer demand, work force (e.g. slaves and commodification of social transactions), infrastructure and monetisation, the Roman empire provided socioeconomic structures that allowed for a significant increase in production which must have had a direct impact on artefact assemblages. It is also necessary to understand the impact of such 'mass-produced' artefacts for local cultural systems. Is it possible to 'flood' pre-industrial societies with mass-products? Or does the existence of a relatively uniform set of commodities indicate a kind of imperial society since it allowed for communication between individuals and between polities, thus signifying 'relations of dependency, affiliation,

or correspondence' among the élite (De Marrais *et al.* 1996, 25–6; cf. Hodder 1982a). Such objects may not only have been status markers, but they might have been used to exercise power in society: and the possible symbolic meaning of such objects might explain their increasing demand by an expanding number of local élites.

Considering the scale of production in the Principate, local markets may appear to have been saturated with Italo-Roman imports, but even if artefacts changed as a consequence, the indigenous cognitive models might have survived if we follow the results of modern case-studies that show how local 'identities' and 'cultures' can be preserved and manifested through a material culture of 'global nature' (cf. Appadurai 1990; Olwig 1993). Mass-produced goods (cf. Miller 1992) affect the visibility of social identity and societal change (cf. Cooper 1996). With the Principate, cultural differences became less visible by the circulation of a 'global' repertoire of artefacts from which people created their identities. The question we have to ask is to what extent the people in the 'recipient' societies in Cisalpine Gaul (or any provincial region) continued to re-interpret and misinterpret the meaning of material culture and ideology, considering that during the Republic, objects had not always communicated their original meaning and had been alienated as they moved from Central and Southern Italy to the North. Under the assumption of a substantially increased demand of Italo-Roman artefacts in the early first century AD, the question arises whether this also implies an increased understanding of Roman lifestyle and ideologies. Moreover, the increasing monetisation of local economies should not be underestimated as a factor that reduced the symbolic rôle of 'prestige goods' in social transactions to mere consumer goods in the eyes of the social actor.

3.2 COLONISATION AS FORCED ASSIMILATION?

Rome's administrative structures were also about space and how space was socially constructed. Rome created geographical divisions—*municipia*, *coloniae* and *ciuitates* (the three categories mentioned on the Este tablet, *v. infra*) as well as *prouinciae* and the Italian *regiones*, which often contradicted existing perceptions of space. These divisions can hardly be considered to be superficial. Roman-style *ciuitates* (used as a generic term for any form of 'municipality' whatever its status) were institutionalised through administration (e.g. *ordo*, *duumviri*) and a social, economic, political and religious central place (*oppidum*, *urbs*, *caput ciuitatis*) that provided the setting for the individual to act in, engaging in collective civic cults, displaying one's authority, status and lifestyle, becoming a member of the *plebs*, a *collegium*, cult association or the *ordo*. By participating

in these institutions, social networks and hierarchies were reshaped and new behavioural patterns promoted regarding cults, aspirations, dress code, initiation rites, language, afterlife beliefs, patterns of consumption and many more.

Colonisation, municipalisation and urbanism are overlapping issues since one cannot have one without the other in the Roman empire. For example, when the *Transpadani* received Latin rights, their territory was reorganised in the form of a Latin colony, creating a new municipality at the centre of which there was a central place of urban character, thus ending the polynucleated landscapes of late Iron Age 'éthnies'. Municipalisation and urbanisation were inseparable in the Roman mind, which for Laffi (1966) reflects the Romans' lack of understanding of non-urban societies. Urbanism also plays a central rôle in many 'Romanisation' studies: for Galsterer (1987b) 'romanizzazione' and urbanisation were identical and for Coarelli 1992, 23–4): 'la romanizzazione non poteva realizzarsi se non attraverso l'urbanizzazione' because urbanism made possible the administrative reorganisation necessary to overcome Italy's ethnic and social heterogeneity, thus strengthening the Roman conquest by standardising administration.

But just how important were colonies and *municipia* to integrate the *Cisalpini* and to stimulate deep-ranging changes? The earliest towns in Northwest Italy were founded by Romans, but as we shall see a Republican colony was rarely the spitting image of Rome to promote Roman culture, laws and institutions. We also have to examine the colony as a threat to local socioeconomics and as a privileged venue for cultural interaction. We also need to reassess how disruptive the land confiscation and redistribution associated with colonies really were.

In the Republic, colonies were considered military strongholds, Cicero's 'bastions of the empire' (*Leg. agr.* 2.73). They controlled coasts, riverways, roads and mountain passes, which also shows Rome's economic interests. Colonies also satisfied Rome's increasing need for land, resolving Rome's overpopulation. But this function changed after 89 BC when colonies could be created without distributing the land to new settlers. By the early second century BC a well-defined ritual of foundation came into use, a systematised method of laying out colonial settlements, and an especially well-thought-through purpose for each type of Roman foundation (Latin or Roman colony, *forum*, *conciliabulum*, *praefectura*) suitable for each specific situation. Galsterer (1987a) considers this system to have been brought to perfection in the third and second centuries BC, while Coarelli (1992, 25) focuses on the earlier development.

In the Republic there were two types of colonies. A Roman colony (*colonia ciuium Romanorum*) was rarely more than a garrison of some three to five hundred Roman citizens. It had the primarily military task of

surveillance and was therefore strategically situated, like Eporedia at the entrance to the Aosta Valley and near the Bessa gold mines. As outposts of Roman citizens, who retained their citizenship with all its privileges and duties, these colonies were initially administered by Rome, but they acquired a certain autonomy with the increasing distance from Rome. The impact of such colonies on indigenous societies appears to have been rather limited and hardly visible in the archaeological record, as in the case of Eporedia; in the case of Luna, the hinterland seems to have been extensively exploited by colonists in the late Republic, as suggested by a range of farmsteads in the Apennines (cf. Ward-Perkins 1984).

By contrast, a Latin colony (*colonia Latina*) had between 2,500 and 6,000 colonists, plus the settlers' families and households. They were autonomous and their settlers acquired the citizenship of the newly founded colony. The case of the Latin colony of Cosa (273 BC) reminds us of the relatively early export of political, religious and architectural features that were typically Roman, like the forum, *capitolium*, podium temple and the Roman-style elections in *tribus* and *comitia* (cf. Brown *et al.* 1993; Crawford 1996b). A colony's economic success relied largely on additional immigration from across Italy and the local hinterland. It provided the venue for culture contact between indigenous inhabitants, colonists and newcomers of various ethnic origins, speaking different languages and dialects. Consequently, new local identities were developing out of the interaction between 'colonists' and 'natives', so that the sociocultural appearance of a colony could have a very diverse make-up. The presence of 'natives' is well-attested throughout Northwest Italy by indigenous onomastics (also cf. Chapters 4.2 and 5): Celtic (or Ligurian) onomastics often survived as *cognomen* or *gentilicium*, as in the name Gaius Albius Ligus from Hasta (CIL V 7562), with *Alb-* being particularly common for Liguria, also as toponym (Albintimilium, Albingaunum, Alba Pompeia), while *Ligus* may have been both a Latin cognomen or a 'deckname' for *Ligures*; other possible 'ethnic' cognomina may be *Liguris* (e.g. CIL V 1381), *Montanus* (in the Apennines, e.g. CIL V 7509) and *Taurus* (for Taurini?, e.g. CIL V 7235). In some colonies we also find a specific category of inhabitants distinct from the colonists, for example in Luna—*coloni et incolae* (CIL V 1341, 1346f) and most explicitly the Salassi in Augusta Praetoria: *Salassi incol(ae) qui initio se in colon(iam) con[t(ulerunt)], v. infra*). Since every free person in Cisalpine Gaul was a Roman citizen from 49 BC onwards, such differences in status should have gradually diminished.

Roman colonisation went hand-in-hand with the immigration of people from Central and South Italy, but we need to assess its scale. Was the number of colonists so high that our archaeological evidence reflects less of the cultural interaction between the 'colonised' and 'colonists', and more

of the result of overwhelming immigration that led to the establishment of an Italo-Roman 'colonial culture' (cf. McNiven and Russell 2005). There are various arguments against this. For example, immigrants came from various ethnic backgrounds, like Samnium and Campania, while the Civil War armies that settled in the triumviral and Augustan veteran colonies, like Augusta Praetoria, Taurinorum and Bagiennorum, probably largely originated from Cisalpine Gaul, with most Iron Age artefacts (e.g. *vaso a trottola*) had already disappeared prior to their foundation.

The extent of demographic fluctuation is difficult to assess. The agricultural potential of the Po Valley made it the 'promised land' for settlers from all parts of Italian society who decided to start a new life in Cisalpine Gaul. For the lower Po Valley, Bandelli (1992, 32, n. 27) calculated the demographic potential of the third and second centuries BC at approximately 100,000 to 120,000 people. This must be compared with the size of the indigenous population at the eve of the Roman conquest, which Brunt (1971) and Foraboschi (1992, 22–4) estimated at c. 500,000 for Cisalpine Gaul (compared to almost 28 million inhabitants in 2012). If we accept that roughly 20% of a region consisted of immigrants, who were also actively supported by Rome, which provided land allotments, equipment, urban centres and protection, then the question arises of the colonists' possible economic and social advantages. On the other hand, there might have been enough spare capacity in many parts of Cisalpine Gaul to accommodate new settlers, since evidence for human activity appears relatively sparse, especially west of Vercellae and Dertona where the majority of Roman colonies was founded; in addition, irrigation also made new land available for agriculture in the river valleys.

Besides Luna and Eporedia, the earliest Roman foundations in our area appear to have been associated with the construction of the *uia Fulvia* (Table 3.1); a series of *fora*, notably Forum Fulvii (Forum Germa and Forum Vibii Caburum are later foundations), and the towns (probably *conciliabula*) Pollentia, Potentia/Carreum, Hasta and Dertona, while Alba Pompeia was one of Pompeius' Latin colonies without settlers. For all these sites, finds dating prior to c. 50 BC, except for some rare *vernice nera*, are exceptional. This may suggest that most settlers belonged to the subaltern classes who used locally produced artefacts. The demographic situation changed with the triumviral deduction of veteran soldiers at Augusta Taurinorum and Dertona, each having received additional settlers under Augustus (e.g. Dertona's new title *Iulia Augusta*, CIL V 7376; for Turin cf. Inaudi 1976) as well as the newly founded colonies of Augusta Bagiennorum and the 3,000 settlers at Augusta Praetoria. Altogether, Northwest Italy had received an estimated 20,000 colonists plus their households by the end of the first century BC; this would have been an immense demographic change considering that the archaeology

Table 3.1 Roman colonies and other ‘towns’ in Northwest Italy during the Republic

Colony	Date
Luna (Luni)	Roman colony, nearby <i>portus Lunae</i> . 2,000 settlers and attestation of <i>incolae</i> 177 BC
Eporedia (Ivrea)	Roman colony 100 BC
(Iulia) (Augusta) Dertona (Tortona)	Roman colony (or originally <i>conciliabulum</i>) founded together with <i>uia Postumia</i> . Re-founded as veteran colony under the triumvirs and under Augustus
<i>Conciliabula</i> and <i>fora</i> —presumed to be constructed under Fulvius Flaccus and/or in relation with the construction of the <i>uia Fulvia</i> (c. 125–122 BC)	
Hasta (Asti)	
Potentia (Chieri)	Celtic toponym: <i>Carreum</i>
Industria (Monteu da Po)	Celtic toponym: <i>Bodincomagus</i>
Pollentia (Polenzia)	
Forum Fulvii (Villa del Foro)	Named after Fulvius Flaccus
Forum Germa (. . .) (Caraglio)	<i>Forum Germa</i> (<i>norum</i> ?)
Forum Vibii Caburum (Cavour)	
Pompeii’s ‘pseudo-colonies’ with Latin rights between 89 and 49 BC (existing ‘oppida’ became <i>coloniae Latinae</i> , subsequently <i>municipia</i> from 49 BC)	
Alba Pompeia (Alba)	Probably re-founded under Pompeius Strabo after 89 BC; likely no colonists; <i>municipium</i> after 49 BC
Vercellae (Vercelli)	Latin colony after 89 BC; <i>municipium</i> after 49 BC
Novaria (Novara)	Latin colony after 89 BC; <i>municipium</i> after 49 BC
Libarna (Serravalle Scrivia)	Re-foundation in first century BC, Latin rights after 89 BC, <i>municipium</i> after 49 BC; perhaps colonial status in Principate (CIL V 7428)
Albintimilium, Albingaunum (Ventimiglia, Albenga)	Possibly only Latin colonies after 89 BC (cf. Ewins 1955, 78; for Mennella 1992, 102 only under Caesar or Augustus)
Genua (Genoa)	It could have become a Latin colony after 89 BC, but it may have preserved its status as ‘federate city’ down to 49 BC
Colonies founded after the Social War under the triumvirs and Augustus	
Iulia Augusta Taurinorum (Turin)	Celtic toponym <i>Taurasia</i> (perhaps Latin colony after 89 BC); <i>municipium</i> under Caesar; veteran colony under the triumvirs and Augustus (one colonial deduction each before and after 27 BC); double centuriation of the <i>territorium</i>
Augusta Bagiennorum (Bene)	Augustan veteran colony in the territory of the Bagienni (c. 27 BC), later <i>municipium</i> (CIL V 7135)
Augusta Praetoria (Aosta)	Augustan colony in the territory of the Salassi (25 BC) (3,000 settlers and attestation of <i>incolae</i>)

suggests anything but a dense population in the late Iron Age, though it is possible that the native rural population only became more visible from the first century BC onwards, as in the Canavese and Cuneise (*v. infra*).

In addition, there is evidence for more spontaneous forms of immigration by individuals and families. For example, the Sasernae, a family probably of Etruscan origin, already owned some 200 *iugera* of land (50 hectares) between Dertona and the Montferrato in the first century BC (Gabba 1984b, 218; Kolendo 1973). Moreover, the evidence suggests that a number of Central and South Italian communities acquired land in Cisalpine Gaul, like Aquinum (Pliny *NH* 3.116), Arpinum (Cic. *Fam.* 13.11.1) and Atella (Cic. *Fam.* 13.7.1–3); Luca owned land in the territories of Veleia, Placentia, Parma and *in montibus* bequeathed by Gaius Attius Nepos (*CIL* XI 1147; cf. Crawford 1985, 339–40).

Considering the colonists' statuses and origins, they could hardly have promoted Roman culture. For instance, the material culture of the Latin colony Ariminum (268 BC) belonged to a 'fasciès romain', but this *Romanitas* shows 'la singularité de Rimini romain' in contrast to other Cisalpine colonies whose material culture was not Roman during the Republic (Morel 1989, 116–8). The presence of a Latin colony therefore does not imply the imposition of Roman culture; this partly explains the lack of archaeological visibility for many Republican sites, like Eporedia and Forum Fulvii (Figure 3.1). The character of colonial foundation changed through time and by the end of the first century BC colonies appeared culturally more 'offensive' by increasingly expressing Rome's superiority in cultural terms, as in the case of Augusta Praetoria and Augusta Taurinorum with their rectangular street grids, public buildings, monumental arches and gateways as well as theatres, amphitheatres, baths and temples (Figures 3.2–3.3).

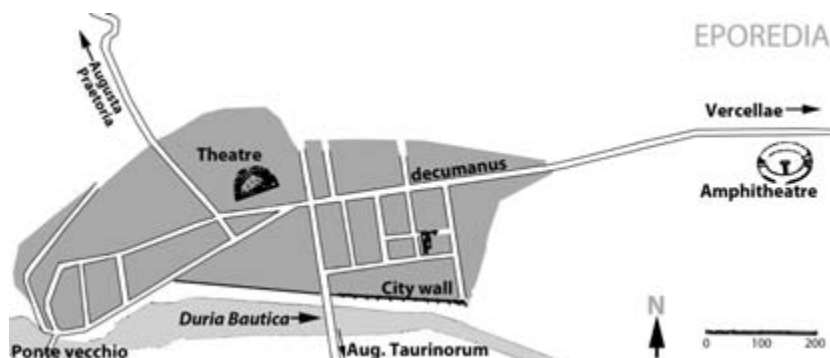


Figure 3.1 Schematic map of the Roman colony of Eporedia (Ivrea), founded in 100 BC, showing the irregular layout of the city (after Cavalieri Manasse *et al.* 1982; map: author).

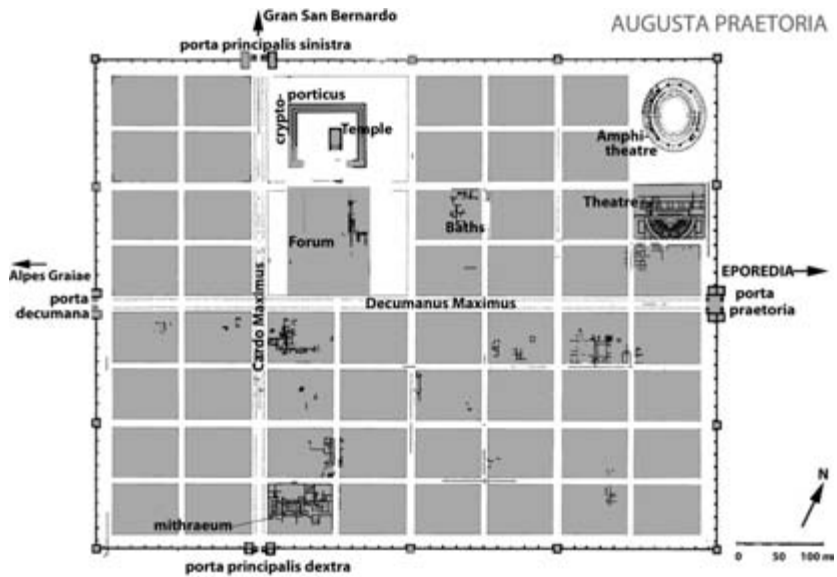


Figure 3.2 Map of the Augustan colony of Augusta Praetoria (Aosta) (after Mollo Mezzena and Mezzena 1985).



Figure 3.3 Turin's 'Porta Palatina' today (photo: author).

Centuriation

For the new colonists, land had to be made available in large quantities. Like for any pre-industrial society, agriculture was the basis of the Roman economy, and it played a major rôle in societies where status was based on property assessment. This also means that Roman towns were not alien enclaves in an otherwise unchanged indigenous landscape, but that they encroached into every corner of the surrounding countryside. During the second and first centuries BC, internal politics made it increasingly crucial for Roman politicians to secure land allotments to satisfy the needs of the large number of veterans and colonists. Roman authorities were responsible for surveying the land and centuriation made it possible to have land available to assign to the new colonists. In the words of Brunt (1971, 297 [my italics]): ‘in many places the founders of colonies purchased the whole area, in many they deprived *undeserving* persons of the possession of their estates’ (cf. Hyginus 203.10).

Dispossession of land was already a consequence of the Roman conquest since Rome treated conquered land after the *deditio* as ‘tabula rasa’ at the disposition of Rome. After assignation had been made, some land might have been returned to the indigenous occupants (cf. the return of land to the Tricastini in the Orange cadastre: Clavel-Léveque (ed) 1983, 55). But at any stage, Roman authorities might unilaterally impose acts of dispossession and redistribution, since all conquered territories were considered to be at Rome’s disposition, not just for founding colonies or building roads. Especially in the period from Caesar to Augustus, land was required for numerous veteran settlements, which caused hostility and rioting (cf. Keppie 1981; 1983). In 41 BC, for example, Vergil asked Alfensus Varus to save Mantua—by that time a Roman-citizen community—from requisitions: *uare, tuum nomen, superet modo Mantua nobis, Mantua uae miserae nimium uicina Cremonae* (. . .) (Verg. *Ecl.* 9, 26–29; also Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.130–36; Prop. *El.* 1.21; 4.1.126–30). Only in the context of the Principate could Augustus (*Res gestae* 16) praise himself to have been the first to pay compensations to dispossessed communities, perhaps an increasing necessity in the context of a unified Italy of Roman citizens.

The systematic process of centuriation was not only an integral part of any colonial foundation, it also constituted the most dramatic impact on the indigenous landscape. Land was surveyed on a large scale by the *gromatici* who divided it into regular rectangular units, which could then be assigned to individuals, of which a land register was kept (cf. Dilke 1971; 1974; Campbell 2000; Laffi 1999; Tozzi 1980). This process abolished existing boundaries and created a new reality, an ordered landscape. The imposition of a square grid that ignored any natural

features may even have served to manifest Rome's superiority as supernatural (cf. Mitchell (ed) 1994 for landscape and power). It is a common feature of many imperial powers to annihilate the sacred and historic landscapes of the indigenous population and impose their own concepts of property and symbols (cf. Peires 1985, 262 on the Maori). Roman centuriation provides a vivid picture of an active reorganisation of the indigenous landscape. Considering the monumental task of mapping—and reshaping—the entire length of the Po Valley (c. 600km), the work of the *gromatici* appears comparable to the work of land companies chartered by the British government to *dispossess* the 'natives' (O'Brien 1997). Similarly the Romans created the image of the 'vacant' land that could be redistributed: (. . .) *agri Ligustini e Gallici, quod bello captum erat aliquantum uacaret* (. . .). (Livy 42.4.3–4).

Like colonisation, centuriation is a much later process in the Northwest compared to the lower Po Valley (Table 3.2; Figure 3.4). An early indication of the activities of *gromatici* might be the land given to the Statielli *trans Padanum* or the surveying for the construction of the *uia Fulvia* c. 123 BC (*v. supra*). Even if large territories in internal Liguria

Table 3.2 Centuriation in Northwest Italy: a matching orientation of urban street grid and centuriation might indicate that the area was centuriated prior to the city's foundation or, perhaps more likely, that an existing settlement was reorganised at the same time.

Location	Orientation of City	Orientation of Territory
Dertona	51 NE-SW	11 NE-SW
Aquae Statiellae	10/15 NE-SW	Hilly countryside
Alba Pompeia	5 NE-SW	Hilly countryside
Augusta Bagiennorum	48 NW-SE	
Libarna	30 NW-SE	30 NW-SE
Hasta	10 NW-SE	10 NW-SE
Industria	11 NE-SW	11 NE-SW
Carreum Potentia	Several orientations	11 NE-SW
Vardacate	—/—	11 NE-SW
Forum Fulvii	11 NE-SW	11 NE-SW
Forum Vibii	?	11 NE-SW/10 NW-SE
Forum Germa(—)	2 NE-SW	20 NW-SE
Pedona	4 NE-SW	4 NE-SW
Eporedia	4 NW-SE	4 NW-SE
Augusta Taurinorum I	26 NE-SW	26 NE-SW
Augusta Taurinorum II	—	3 NE-SW
Vercellae	Several orientations	11 NE-SW/17 NW-SE
Novaria	2 NE-SW	17 NW-SE/2 NE-SW
Augusta Praetoria	20 NW-SE	Mountainous countryside
Luna	20 NE-SW	20 NE-SW

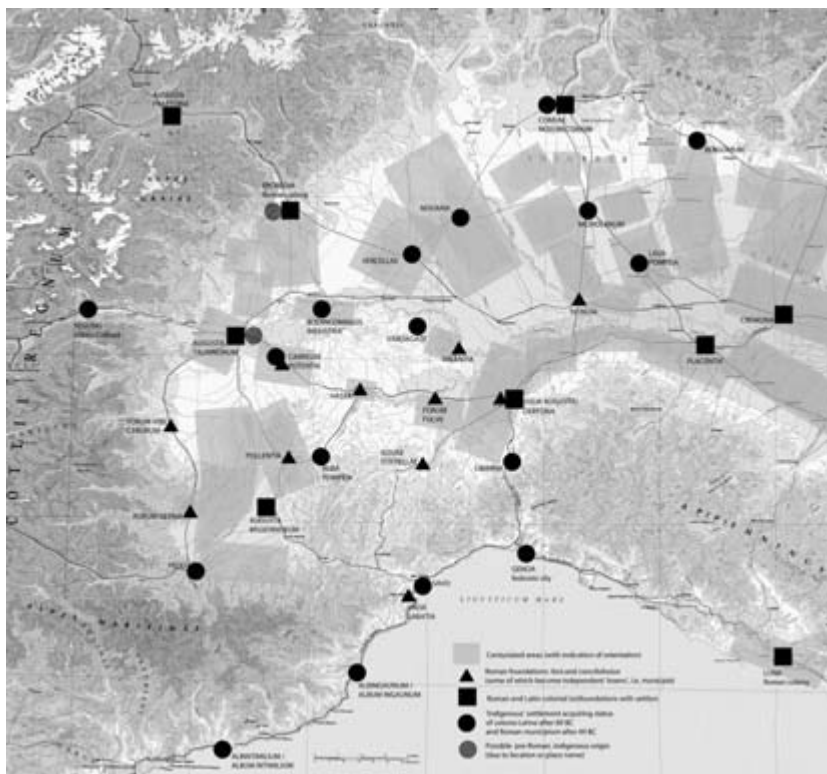


Figure 3.4 Centuriation and urban centres in Northwest Italy: pre-Roman settlements were often re-founded on the same or an adjacent site during the first century BC. In some cases, the location and/or Celtic/Ligurian toponym may indicate a pre-Roman origin. Regarding centuriation, we can assume that a substantial part of the area of study was centuriated, traces of which have often disappeared (e.g. Luna) or are difficult to identify in a hilly countryside (e.g. Augusta Praetoria).¹

had become *ager Romanus* as a result (cf. Fraccaro 1953, 889; Reiter 1978), it need not imply centuriation or large-scale land redistribution. In the first century BC, land was extensively centuriated around Forum Fulvii and Dertona, Eporedia and Augusta Taurinorum; an extensive cluster of centuriation covers the river plains in the modern province of Cuneo, comprising Augusta Bagiennorum, Pedona, Forum Germa and Pollentia (Negro Ponzi Mancini 1981, 3–9). Traces of centuriation were recognised by Fraccaro for the *municipia* Vercellae and Novaria, while centuriation in the narrow Aosta Valley was convincingly argued for by Dilke (1988).

It is difficult to date centuriation archaeologically. It is therefore usually associated with historical events, such as road building, colonial foundations and citizenship grants. Centuriation often pre-dated the establishment of a colony so that the settlers could be assigned plots of land on arrival. This seems very likely when the orientation of the rural centuriation and the towns street grid correspond, as in the cases of Forum Fulvii, Hasta, Industria, Pedona, Eporedia and Augusta Taurinorum (cf. Table 3.2). Ewins (1955, 94) has argued that large sections of the western Po Valley might already have been centuriated during Caesar's governorship, perhaps in preparation for veteran colonies (Gabba 1986b, 40 suggests after 44 BC). The epitaph of the *gromaticus* Lucius Aebutius Faustus from Eporedia (CIL V 6786) stylistically dates to the Augustan period and might suggest a major effort of centuriation for the veteran settlements during the last half of the first century BC.

The centuriation in Cisalpine Gaul took place at an unprecedented scale that cannot bear any relation to the number of colonists and veterans, which must have been significantly lower. This is especially the case in the Transpadana where colonies were created after 89 BC without sending out settlers. Why do we find centuriation in the context of 'pseudo-colonies' like Vercellae and Novaria (for centuriation of non-colonial land, cf. e.g. Favory 1983, 126, n. 263; Hyginus, *constitutio limitum* 10)? This is why we need to explore alternative reasons for centuriation, like the need for a land register. Assuming that all *Cisalpini* had acquired Roman citizenship in 49 BC, we are dealing with a very different starting point: the Roman state had to deal not with non-urbanised communities consisting of *peregrini*, but with individual Roman citizens who had the right to own property *optimo iure*, who fought in the Civil Wars (which had created a sense of common consciousness) and who could appeal to the *praetor* in Rome and vote in the *comitia*. Land disputes might therefore take another dimension and might have required Augustus to pay compensation in order to avoid civil strife. In this respect, a series of rural funerary inscriptions from the heavily centuriated areas of the Canavese and Cuneese might well have served as claims of property in land disputes (cf. Chapter 5.6). In the context of Roman-citizen communities, the extensive centuriation might imply the creation of a land register that could have served as basis for census evaluations—a necessary consequence of the enfranchisement and municipalisation after 49 BC; Gabba (1991, 75) has emphasised the importance of a land register to determine and stabilise social hierarchies in the cities. In a colonial context, the new social classes of a municipality were defined by assigning plots of land of different sizes; also Roman citizens were given preferential treatment to *socii* (e.g. three *iugera* for *socii* and ten for citizens on the *ager Ligustinus et Gallicus* in 173 BC, Livy 42.4.3–4; 41.16.8; cf. Gabba 1985, 280; 1991). The

centuriation of Caselle (Turin) has been interpreted as a ‘catastazione’ of the local population as a result of the new juridical condition (Culasso Gastaldi 1991, 223ff), while Tozzi (1976) discusses the ‘microcenturiation’ for establishing a land register. Altogether, centuriation was an important means to integrate indigenous societies into a Roman-style hierarchy where the individual’s status was based on land holding, private property and census assessment.

In this centuriated landscape, we find only few villas (*v. infra*), but some late Iron Age settlements continued to thrive, adapting to the new environment. We also find new settlements relating to Roman roads and centuriation, like the rural habitat at Rivoli, the *statio* Ad Undecimum, which was occupied until the second century AD (Brecciaroli Taborelli 1993). The epigraphy suggests that many people with Celtic names lived in rural areas—as farmers, veterans, tenants, landlords and so on—some of which seem to have had powerful positions in the centuriated upper Po Valley (cf. Chapters 5.5, 5.6). We also should not forget that centuriation was essential in the Po Valley to create irrigation and drainage canals to put land under agricultural usage that was not available in the late Iron Age (Negro Ponzi Mancini 1981, 3–4). This made possible the surplus production necessary to feed urban centres and to finance ostentatious activities of local élites; keeping up drainage and irrigation canals also reflects collective forms of organisation.

3.3 ADMINISTRATIVE ‘CONFORMITY’ AND URBAN CULTURE

It is important to note that municipalisation was no indigenous-driven, bottom-up process, but that Rome was essential in defining municipalities, their *territoria* and constitutions. This was the case of Pompeius’s Latin colonies in 89 BC and even more so for Roman-citizen *municipia*. Coarelli (1992, 28) suggests that Rome consciously employed *municipia* as instruments to incorporate existing polities into the Roman citizenship. In a *municipium*, the individual had many privileges that associated him/her more closely to Rome, for example by voting as citizen *optimo iure* in elections and plebiscites during the Republic and to some extent in the empire (e.g. Rome’s magistrates were elected until the third century AD; Nerva’s *lex agraria* was the latest attested comitial *lex*, cf. Dig. 47.2.1; cf. Humbert 1978; Rowe 2002, 96; Velasco 2010). The citizens in a *ciuitas sine suffragio* lacked the right to vote, but had the same privileges and duties as any other Roman citizen, like *munera*, *tributum* and military service. A *deditio* followed the establishment of a *ciuitas sine suffragio*, which was a punitive measure since part of the territory became *ager publicus populi Romani* and often received settlers, which Coarelli (1992, 28–9) interprets as forced integration (‘assimilazione forzata’). A comparable instrument to achieve a ‘definite integration’

(Sherwin-White 1973, 48–53) was the *praefecturae iure dicundo*, delegates of the *praetor urbanus* with jurisdictional competences towards the *ciues optimo iure*, the *ciues* of a *municipium* under their law and for mixed cases (cf. Festus 262L; Humbert 1978, 355–402; Bispham 2007, 12; 203, n. 208). Though not attested in Northwest Italy (except for the *lex de Gallia Cisalpina*, v. *infra*), they provided an important representation of Roman authority in many parts of Italy and contributed to the introduction of Roman law and the involvement of the local population in a legal discourse. Roman law-speaking was not only visualised by appropriate venues, such as *fora* and *basilicae*, but Rome also created *conciliabula*, political-jurisdictional assembly points (*locus, ubi in concilium uenitur*, Festus 33L), like the towns along the *uia Fulvia*. The increasing introduction of Roman law, notably for citizens, meant that people had to participate in a Roman system of status, hierarchy and legal proceedings by being involved in law cases. As shown below (cf. Chapter 4.2), it works both ways: not just Rome imposing its laws, but natives voluntarily employing the new legal repertoire to deal with internal disputes, thus eroding their own traditions.

We would imagine that the whole of Cisalpine Gaul must have been divided up into *coloniae* and *municipia* after 89/49 BC. But this process must have taken many years and was probably delayed due to the Civic Wars. During a transitional period when municipalities were needed, but did not yet exist, there was a complex patchwork of institutions: the *lex de Gallia Cisalpina* (v. *infra*) records *castella* and *territoria* side-by-side with *municipia* and *coloniae* as a type of community that possessed juridical functions from an official Roman view point. *Territoria* probably were non-urban areas that had not yet been attributed to any *municipium*; equally, *castellum* might refer to pre-Roman communities since the term does not occur in comparable Roman legal texts, such as the *lex agraria*, *lex Mamilia*, *tabula Heraclensis* or the Este fragment (cf. Luraschi 1979, 117). These stipulations of the *lex de Gallia Cisalpina* probably became obsolete with further reorganisation under Augustus and Tiberius.

In the Principate, epigraphy seemingly documents relatively standardised constitutions with the typical career structure for *coloniae* and *municipia* consisting of *aediles*, *quaestores*, *decuriones*, *duumviri* or *quattuorviri* (Table 3.3). The full range of magistracies is only attested at Alba Pompeia, Augusta Praetoria, Augusta Taurinorum, Hasta and Industria. At Augusta Taurinorum, inscriptions also seem to mirror a change from *quattuorviri* to *duoviri* after 49 BC, i.e. from *municipium* to colonial status (cf. Cresci Marrone 1991b). Previous titles of magistracies, such as the *rikos* or *lekatos*, are no longer attested. This high degree of standardisation needs an explanation since a uniform imposition by

Table 3.3 Evidence for Roman-style institutions and magistracies in Northwest Italy, in geographical order, with villages and *uici* being attributed to *ciuitates* as far as possible. Some small towns seem to have acquired independent status, such as Forum Germa. Some magistrates are attested outside their own *ciuitas*. The *quattuorui*—typical for *municipia* (from 49 BC)—include both *quattuorui iure dicundo* and *aedilicia potestate* (numbers refer to CIL V unless otherwise stated).

	Sacerdos, Pontifex, Augur,						Vluir		Flamen/ Flaminica Equestres Senatores		
	Aediles		Decuriones		Ordo	Ilui	Illui	Harpesx Augustalis			
	Quaestor	Decuriones	add.								
NOVARIA	AE	6519	5658		-		6515 6517	6582 6588	6482 6505	6513 6514	6494 6514
(including Novara,	2002,	6520	1085				6519 6520		6516 6518	6517 6520	6517 6520
Rosasco, Sizzano,	592						6521 6523		6524	6523	
Ghemme, Suno,							6588 6623		6525? 6576		
Arona, Fara									AE 1903,		
Novarese, etc.)									350; AE		
									2003; 699		
									Pais 883		
LAUMELLUM	-	-	-	-	-		6472	-	6472 6473	6480	6480
(Lomello)											-
VERCELLAE	6675?		6661				6596 6600	6661	6351	6494 7373	6662 6666
(Vercelli,			6598				6661 6662	ILV 109	6598 6599		6657
Fontanetto Po)							6664 6666		6657 6658		6663
(Biandrate: ciuitas							7373 ILV		6663 6665		6665
Vercellensium)							97				

(Continued)

Table 3.3 (Continued)

	Aediles				Sacerdos, Pontifex,				Flamen/ Flaminica			
	<i>Quaestor</i>	<i>Decuriones</i>	<i>Ordo</i>	<i>Iluviri</i>	<i>Illuviri</i>	<i>Augur,</i> <i>Hamuspex</i>	<i>Vluir</i> <i>Augustalis</i>					<i>Senatores</i>
INDUSTRIA-	7468	7468	-	-	7468	7479	-	7464 7496	7478,	7468	-	
BODINCOMAGUS	<i>SupplIt</i>			7481				7480 7486	<i>SupplIt</i>			
(Monteu da Po)	12.In, 7			<i>SupplIt</i>				AE 2007,	12.In, 6			
				12.In, 7				564				
EPOREDIA	6788	6788	6955-7016	-	6788	-	-	6775 6777	6797	-	-	
(Ivrea, Biella)	6790	6796f		6791	6791			6786 6787	<i>InscrIt</i>			
	6796			6796f				6789	11.2, 54			
				6955				6792 6795				
				Pais 905				7033 <i>Pais</i>				
								906 <i>SupplIt</i>				
								12.In, 7				
AUGUSTA	6838	6842	<i>IAugPraet</i>	-	6842	-	-	6828 6831	6840	-	-	
PRAETORIA	6842	<i>IAugPraet</i>	54	<i>IAug-</i>				6837 <i>IAug-</i>				
(Aosta)		69		<i>Praet</i> 69				<i>Praet</i> 12				
AUGUSTA	6965	6955 6965	6918 6955	7039	6917	7015 7028	6991f	6952 6905	6954 6995	6993 6995	6974-80	
TAURINORUM	7015	6996	7005 7016	7040	6965	7034 7039	6996 7017	6917 7014	7002 7007	7021 7032	6988f	
(Turin, Canavese)	7158		7017 7022	6996	7007	Pais 1301	7021	7017 7018	7021	7037	6994	
			7037		7007			7019 7020	Ilr IX 1,	XI 3940		
					7037			7024	160-161			
					7038			7025 7026				
					7158			7027 7029				
								7030 7031				
								7035 7036				
								7164 7166				
								7167 7168				
								7169				

SEGUSIO (Susa)	-	-	7233 7236 7249 7260	7246 7248 7249 7252	-	-	7255	7259	-
CARREUM- POTENTIA (Chieri)	-	-	-	-	-	-	7493 7496 7497 7498	-	-
POLLENTIA (Bra, Savigliano, Centallo, Cherasco, Saluzzo, Verzuolo)	<i>InscrIt</i> 9.1, 179 <i>InscrIt</i> 9.1, 23	7655	<i>InscrIt</i> 9.1, 24-25	-	7655 <i>InscrIt</i> 9.1, 179	7617	7576 7577 7578 7683? 7604 7616 7618 7642 7670 <i>InscrIt</i> 9.1, 24	<i>InscrIt</i> 9.1, 129	-
PEDONA (Borgo San Dalmazzo, Demonte)	-	-	7862a <i>SupplIt</i> 13. P, 7	-	<i>SupplIt</i> 13.P, 3	-	-	-	-
FORUM GERMA— (Caraglio)	7835	-	-	AE 1988, 573	7832 7835	-	-	-	-
FORUM VIBII CABURUM (Cavour, Envie, Frossasco)	7340	-	-	-	-	-	-	7345	-
AUGUSTA BAGIENNORUM (Bene Vagienna, Dogliani, Fossano, Mombasiglio, Sale San Giovanni)	<i>InscrIt</i> 9.1, 23	-	<i>InscrIt</i> 9.1, 24-25	-	-	7804	7604 7646f 7670 7677f 7683 7722 <i>InscrIt</i> 9.1, 24, 58 AE 1990, 360	-	-

(Continued)

Table 3.3 (Continued)

FORUM FULVIV/ VALENTIA (Villa del Foro)	-	-	-	-	-	7533	-	7447	-
IULIA AUGUSTA DERTONA (Tortona)	-	7369 7376	-	7369 7370 7373 7375	-	7370 7373 6425 7362 7372 AE 2007, 565f 7509 7510 7511 AE 2001, 982	7373 7375 7369 7373 - 7375 CIL III 14698.1	-	-
AQUAE STATIPELLAE (Acqui Terme, Silvano d'Orbo) AE 2001, 982: <i>aed[ilis] tr[ibunus]</i> <i>q[uaestor]</i>	AE 2001, 982?	<i>Suppl</i> 25.AS, 8 AE 2001, 982?	-	-	<i>Suppl</i> 25.AS, 8	7515	-	-	-
LIBARNA (Serravalle Scrivia)	7425	AE 1998, 516	-	7425 AE 1992, 630	-	7425	6425	7425 7428	-
GENUA (Genoa)	-	7373	-	-	AE 1992, 657	7373	-	7373	-
SAVONA	-	-	-	7814	-	7774	-	7811, RII 1960	<i>Suppl</i> 10.A, 3f 7782 7783
ALBINTIMILIUM (Ventimiglia)	7813 7814	-	-	7814	-	7814	-	7811, RII 1960	<i>Suppl</i> 10.A, 3f 7782 7783
ALBINGAUNUM (Albenga)	7785	7785	-	AE - 1975, 404	7788 AE 1975, 405 AE 1994, 650 AE 2002, 506	-	7787	7783, 7788 7784 AE 1975, RII 1971 403	-
CIL V 7785: <i>aed[ilis] bis</i> <i>praef[ectus]</i> <i>q[uaestor]</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

(Continued)

Table 3.3 (Continued)

LUNA (Lumi)	Aediles		Decuriones		Ordo		IIuiri	IIIuiri	Sacerdos, Pontifex, Augur, Vuir		Flamen/ Flaminica	Equestres	Senatores
	?	AE	-	CIL XI	CIL XI	CIL XI	CIL XI	CIL XI	CIL XI	CIL XI 1344	CIL XI	CIL XI	CIL XI
	2004,			6971	XI	1331			1355		1342	1342	1331,
	548				6956-	1332							1339
					6958	1341-3							
					AE	1345							
					1978,	1347							
					325	1349a							
						1357a							
						6955							
						6957							
						6964							
						6970							
						6973 AE							
						1978,							
						314.							
						319 AE							
						1980,							
						475 AE							
						2000,							
						555 AE							
						2003,							
						603f							

Rome seems unlikely (Galsterer 1987a). But do local élites merely imitate Roman administration, like Bantia's choice of Roman constitution and the choice of Latin for public proceedings in the Republic (cf. Richardson 1996; Livy 40.43.1)? Rather we can compare the creation of *municipia* with Pompeius's Latin colonies: it was probably an active process that closely involved bilateral deliberations between local élites and Roman magistrates in each case, a process which promoted Roman administrative structures for the re-founded *municipium* (cf. Cicero's rumour from May 51 BC that Caesar ordered the *Transpadani* to create colleges of *IIIuiri*, implying the prospect of a grant of Roman citizenship: Cic. Att. 5.2.3. Fam. 8.1.2 [77.2 SB]); it is also attested that in some cases the founder of a *municipium*—or *colonia*—presided over the election of the first magistrates and/or appointed the members of the first *ordo* (Crawford 1998, 33). Additional factors may have guided the choice of constitution, such as the involvement of powerful patrons granting or denying financial sponsorship and municipal charters. Colonial and municipal charters were highly developed in the late Republic (cf. *lex Tarentinum* and *lex coloniae Genetiuae* of Urso); in our region, the only evidence for such a constitution comes from Segusio (Susa) in the Alpes Cottiae in the Julio-Claudian period (Crawford 1996d). A bronze tablet from Casale Monferrato (c. AD 69–117) shows another way in which Roman perceptions of law were introduced into a local *municipium*: in this case, Vardacate asked Rome a number of legal queries about the status and duties of freedmen whose patrons had been co-opted as citizens of Vardacate, and about the protection of municipal funds; it was the procurator of the emperor who replied, showing how Roman law was accepted across Roman Italy (*SuppIt* 13.V, 1 = AE 1947, 44 = 2000, 586; Arangio-Ruiz and Vogliano 1942). In this respect, the first-century AD *lex Tappula* from Vercellae is an interesting case as it shows playful engagement with a Roman-style plebiscite (*ILV* 57 = *ILS* 8761).

As we can see in Table 3.3, epigraphy provides the image of a rather standardised municipal organisation. But the Latin titles may hide local variations. Sometimes we can recognise differences in people's identity. At Susa, for example, the decurions called themselves *ordo splendidissimus ciuitatis Segusinorum*, while at Aquae Sextiae one opted for a local variant of Rome's *senatus populusque*: *Aquenses decuriones et municipes*. At Vardagate, too, it is the *municipes* that act. But we also find other forms of organisation, such as the *uikanis Segusinis*.

Transformation of Landscape

Urbanism and municipalisation transformed the indigenous landscape in the first century BC by creating a stronger hierarchisation of settlement

patterns focusing on a central place. But instead of creating towns at completely new sites, existing agglomerations and central places were often ‘revamped’ into Roman towns by an active process of re-foundation at the same or adjacent sites (Figure 3.4). Most of Northwest Italy was non-urbanised and many of the ‘twenty-eight walled towns’ (Livy 33.37), which the Romans conquered after the battle of Como (196 BC), were probably no more than fortified hilltop sites, some of which were perhaps no larger than the Ligurian *castella* in the Apennines that were for the most part abandoned in the first century BC/AD. The statuses of *colonia* and *municipium* and the urban characteristics of a site are only the final stages of a long process that sometimes had even started before the Roman conquest with the re-emergence of large agglomerations in the plains. In the case of Carreum it was a hilltop site that acquired the new rôle; in Albintimilium the new town developed at the foot of the previous *oppidum*, probably as early as the second century BC, with a major phase of urban monumentalisation taking place in the first century BC (cf. Spadea 2003). Some indigenous settlements had developed in the plains, like Novaria, Vercellae and Libarna; the rarity of Padane drachmas in these three settlements casts doubts on their rôle as central places and commercial hubs prior to the first century BC. In a number of cases, a Celtic (or Ligurian) toponym might suggest the pre-Roman origin of a town (e.g. Bodincomagus, Novaria, Rigomagus, Segusio, Vardagate, Vercellae, Carreum, Libarna, Albintimilium and Albingaunum; for example, *rigo-magus* is ‘Marché Royal’ and *uer-cellae* is ‘Grand Frappeur’: Delamarre 2003, 113, 259). Bodincomagus, for example, combines the ‘Ligurian’ *Bodincus* for the river Po (Pliny *NH* 3.122) with *magos*, ‘market’ (Delamarre 2003, 213), but this does not necessarily mean that it was founded before the Roman conquest or Fulvius Flaccus’ campaigns. In other cases, the new status of *colonia* or *municipium* resulted in a change of toponomastics, for example from Celtic to Latin (e.g. from Carreum to Potentia, from Bodincomagus to Industria), in honorary names, like Alba Pompeia, and new creations like Aquae Statiellae as the ‘Spa’ of the Statielli. The foundations of the triumviral period are generally called *Iulia*; those of the Augustan period *Augusta*, such as Augusta Praetoria, Augusta Bagiennorum, (Iulia) Augusta Taurinorum or Iulia Augusta Dertona. In the Principate, we can only rarely recognise identities of indigenous origin, and municipal identities dominate the epigraphic record, for example “in the form of a” person’s *origo* as part of a Roman name, like the many praetorians from Vercellae attested in Rome (cf. Chapters 4.3, 5.1). This shows the municipal structures within which the individual person negotiated his/her place, at least for public monuments.

The re-foundation of existing indigenous settlements must have been a deliberate Roman policy. Rome's determination to reshape the sociopolitical and religious structures of conquered people is also evident in other regions, even for well-established civic landscapes in Greece: besides the Roman re-foundation of Corinth, there is also Patras and Nikopolis and the associated enforced movement of local people and deities to new locations (cf. Alcock 1993, 168–9). It seems that Rome consciously used the creation of supra-regional cult centres to involve people in the new municipal and provincial structures. By moving the traditional Gallic meeting place from Bibracte to the Roman Lugdunum (cf. Fishwick 1987, 100), indigenous élites were inserted into Roman power relations that were intentionally associated with the imperial cult; this was similarly so in Tarraco (Tarragona) where the statues reflect the protecting deities of the province of Hispania Citerior (Alföldy 2001). Rome manipulated the development of local agglomerations by promoting certain sites as *caput ciuitatis* of future municipalities. Being evenly spaced out, towns like Vercellae, Novaria or Eporedia must have been favoured for their location in relation to Roman infrastructure (equally in the provinces, cf. Hodder and Hassall 1971; Woolf 1998, 131). It must have been the aim to create successful economic and administrative centres, whose rôles were underpinned by creating new religious centres: after so many generations of expansion, Rome must have been aware of the possible side effects in fostering the 'socioeconomic' integration of the conquered people, forcing people to participate in a certain lifestyle.

The City's Appearance

These towns were vital nodes in the infrastructure of a Roman-style landscape, and they provided a central place for a vast territory. Increasingly these functions were also materialised by an appropriate architecture with monumental buildings: *fora*, *macella*, cult centres with podium temples, entertainment centres and baths, as we have already seen above in the case of Augusta Praetoria. We have to understand how the social agent experienced this urban habitat, how urban lifestyle was propagated and expressed and why certain local people actively supported this urban *art-de-vivre*. The towns of the Principate reflect an enormous financial investment that must have stressed local resources to their limits. This investment can be explained if we assume that certain public buildings played an important rôle as manifestation and materialisation of powerful ideologies—both at a local and imperial level. The spread of monumental architecture largely parallels similar developments in Rome; certainly the Augustan period set a prominent example of how to use architecture to communicate ideological messages, control the *plebs*

and materialise individual families or the *domus diuinae*, etc. (Zanker 1988; Habinek and Schiesaro 1997). We therefore need to understand the sources of funding and the transfer of know-how.

Externally, Rome could have used architecture to legitimate her rule. Roman urbanism in the Principate needed monumental architecture in order to provide the physical space for civic cults and administration, manifesting the leading rôle of the city and to physically manifest the supremacy of Rome and the emperor (cf. Haeussler 1999). Central to a Roman-style city was the forum with its basilica and temple. In the third century BC, the forum was at the heart of the community of the Latin colonies Paestum (273 BC) and Cosa (*v. supra*), representing its laws, institutions, cults and festivals as well as the values and the identity of a municipality. These rectangular squares also reveal the main interests of the ‘*oikistes*’ by providing the infrastructure for the citizen’s economy, politics and religion. But Cosa’s forum was relatively modest being surrounded by shops, a *macellum*, a *comitium*, and a small cult place, while later constructions—like in Augusta Praetoria—were much grander in style and meant to impress. Recent excavations of the *fora* of early foundations, like Aquae Statiellae and Dertona, show ‘una fase di monumentalizzazione’ in the late first century BC (Venturino Gambari, Crosetto and Gatti 2007; Venturino Gambari, Crosetto and Terenzi 2007); the temple and forum of Segusio probably date to the mid-Augustan period (Barello 2007).

The architectural layout is different from the Greek agora: the forum is a more exclusive ‘plaza’ since it has gateways that restrict access to the square. In *The Language of Sites in the Politics of Space*, Kuper’s (1972, 420–1) description seems appropriate for the Roman-style *fora*, describing ‘a particular piece of social place, a place socially and ideologically demarcated from other places (. . .) which conveys and evokes a range of responses (. . .)’. But what does the individual experience when entering such a Roman forum: the uniform porticoes that surround the place must have provided a sense of unity and order. The view probably focussed on the main buildings, basilica and temple: the forum often also provided the ‘*peribolos*’ for a podium temple dedicated to the community’s civic deities, the Capitoline triad and/or the *domus diuina*. Besides being a market place, the forum was above all the venue for numerous public performances that re-enacted local authority and Roman domination: magistrates and governors speaking law, the meetings of the *ordo*, magistrates involved in sacrifices and collective religious festivals, and so on. We should not underestimate the rôle of such collective events. Moore (1996), for example, has shown the importance of acts of reciprocity in the urban squares in Andean empires in consolidating the Inca empire. But the forum was also a social meeting place to meet other citizens,

socialise, display one's status, go to the promenade and exchange ideas, while the basilica and colonnaded walkways also provided the environment appropriate to display one's Roman lifestyle, for example by wearing the Roman toga.

As the forum physically manifested Roman status and ideologies, its rather (standardised) architectural appearance, equally present at many non-colonial sites, cannot be considered accidental. The model might have been set by Roman colonies and other Roman foundations. This is best documented by the short-lived Augustan town *Waldgirmes* (c. 4/3 BC–AD 9) in 'Germania libera'. Being inhabited by Germanic people, it possessed a regular street grid, urban houses with porticoes and a typical forum-basilica complex, including a gilded equestrian statue of Augustus, clearly displaying Roman superiority and ideology (cf. Becker 1999; Rasbach and Becker 2003). Such direct Roman involvement is hardly ever attested (cf. Horster 1997 for imperial funding); though certainly Augustus did provide a number of powerful examples not only in Rome, like the Forum Augusti and the Mars Ultor temple that inspired many local copies, but also the construction of numerous arches (Aosta and Susa), monuments (*Tropaeum Augusti*) and exemplary colonies like *Augusta Taurinorum* and *Augusta Praetoria*.

But did local élites simply copy Greco-Roman models? The question arises as to what motivated local people to construct Roman-style *fora* in small towns. In *Glanum* in *Gallia Narbonensis*, for example, a first forum was constructed in the Augustan period which was replaced by a more monumental Julio-Claudian forum whose 'plaza' was enclosed on all four sides (Roth Congès 2000; also cf. the series of colonnaded plazas in *Alba* [Ardèche]: Dupraz *et al.* 2004). Was the forum a 'fashion' or did it signify a town's status and independence? In any case, the rôle of the forum must be learned first. We seem to be dealing here with a development comparable to the spread of Renaissance and Baroque architecture between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries AD, whose concepts of a large 'plaza'—often surrounded by porticoes and dominated by a church not unlike a Roman forum—spread across a politically rather segmented Europe. This was partly due to a movement of architects and the spread of ideas by printed media; this reminds us of Vitruvius's *de architectura* published under Augustus when Roman-style urbanism became 'fashionable' across the Roman West. More importantly, Renaissance and Baroque architecture spread through the connections between powerful patrons, and there also was 'the appropriation on the part of rulers and the ruling class of an architectural language to reinforce their political and social position'; that is '(...) the Classical language of the orders provided a powerful visual metaphor for social hierarchies, and to this may be attributed much of its success'

(Fletcher and Cruickshank 2001, 810–11). Also in Roman times, patronage links—especially among the senatorial and equestrian élite—must have been essential for the transfer of ideas and know-how. At the same time, Roman architecture and art could provide a powerful medium to consolidate élite authority and communicate ideologies—both in Augustan Rome and across Italy. Of course the meaning must be understood first, but people could learn first-hand—both in Rome and in the colonies of the Principate. Did the Roman architecture of the Principate reflect the self-identity of élites in Italy under Augustus? Did local élites deliberately choose an architecture that intimidated the subaltern classes and communicated ideological messages, which would have had, whether intentional or not, a significant impact on the local *populus* and on indigenous socio-cultural patterns, also guiding people's choice and behaviour. At a local level, people in the Principate were constantly confronted with Roman ideology, since urban centres provided efficient media to communicate élite messages and to cater for events that reinforce élite status.

The architectural appearance was an important element in turning a pre-Roman settlement into a Roman-style town appropriate to the *zeitgeist* of the Principate. Local élites could associate themselves with monumental venues and use them to display their authority. Down to the first century BC, local élites seemed to focus most of their activities in rural areas, for example the ostentatious burials in the Ticino Valley. Though these traditional social relations may have survived longer in rural contexts, by participating in an urban setting local élites could draw on wider support from different social groups across the municipality. In the Principate, the city became a venue for élite competition and status display. Having lost their rôle as 'statesman' or tribal 'chief', members of the élite could gain status in the *ordo* if they were wealthy landowners. Roman municipal constitutions laid down guidelines for appropriate élite behaviour, as documented in the *lex coloniae Genetiuae*, demanding *inter alia* financial investment in *munera* and gladiatorial games by new office holders. But the few annual magistracies were not that powerful, and some people aspired for *auctoritas* associated with certain honorary titles, like being honoured as benefactor or *patronus* of the *plebs* or *colonia*. For this, individuals were motivated to embellish their towns with new public buildings, a display of their wealth and their philanthropy in the hope of immortality—at least on buildings or honorary inscriptions (cf. Chapter 5.3 for euergetism).

But urbanism was not the only playground of élites—élites may, after all, have spent much of their time on their rural estates. The élites' conspicuous display of status, their lifestyle and the monumental architecture created the need for surplus production with repercussions for the local economy and agricultural production, leading to increased division

of labour and the specialisation of crafts and trades. Moreover, urbanism provided a new setting for the subaltern classes to act in, as specialised craftsmen or merchants, for whom the town was a social and cultural melting pot. As we have already seen, the urban centre had at least three main effects for the subaltern classes: having left their life in small-scale rural communities, people socialised in an urban lifestyle; individuals of various backgrounds had to adapt to new societal structures and transactions (e.g. *collegia*, cults, monetised economy); and they had to find a niche in the highly specialised labour market. In the town, new ideas, values, ideologies, ‘fashions’ and other behavioural models could be communicated. Apart from the forum, one vital venue to assemble most citizens of a *municipium* was the theatre—and later also the amphitheatre—which can be found across Liguria and Transpadana (cf. Maggi 1987; Panero 2000; Chrzanowski 2006), showing the adoption of the Roman-style *pane et circensem* as a collective experience which was at the same time a reciprocal event and a promotion of Roman ideologies to large audiences. As a result, the town provided individuals with a wide range of elements and media from which to construct their identity, display their status and develop their behaviour and code of conduct.

Urbanism seems to be a crucial factor in shaping the cultural representation of people in the Principate. This is not to say that there was *one* urban lifestyle across Roman Italy, but that the complexity of urban life provided the setting for people to experiment with new cultural propositions and create new identities and lifestyles out of the available repertoire, taking into account performances of elite behaviour, the artefacts readily available at merchants and the culturally and ethnically rather diverse inhabitants. Similarly, institutions, social differentiation and specialisation created new forms of social hierarchies, group identity and status which are likely to be expressed in an appropriate form of material culture. In this respect the production and import of Greco-Roman artefacts can give symbolic expression to newly emerging social groups, be it the decurions, the *plebs*, craftsmen, traders and the members of the various *collegia*, whereby every group would develop their cultural language. To express one’s identity and lifestyle in an urban context may have created an increased demand for an appropriate material culture—a demand that was fulfilled by ‘mass-produced’ objects like glass and Samian ware, which in turn makes it more difficult for us to recognise variations in people’s identity. Though we should not underestimate the impact of Republican settlements on local communities in Northwest Italy, the nature of urbanism changed significantly after Caesar’s governorship regarding the monumental appearance, the lifestyle it propagated and the material culture. But this was as much

the result of Roman intervention, as it was a conscious decision by local élites to invest resources and manpower in the new urban centres, and to participate in inner-élite competition in urban centres.

3.4 RÉSUMÉ: THE LIMITS OF ROMAN IMPERIALISM

The aim of this Chapter was to focus on the impact of Roman imperialism and on the structures that Rome imposed—both consciously and unconsciously—on the people in Northwest Italy. Economic, fiscal, demographic and legal changes, urbanism and municipalisation must have had a potentially destructive effect on local people. And from the first century BC, the social agents and their local community were faced with an increasingly large and invasive variety of Roman institutions. Moreover, in the early Principate, an imperial landscape was created that had strong associations with Rome, Roman myths, Roman emperors and a discourse on *humanitas*: this was represented *inter alia* by a landscape dominated by Roman roads, arches (e.g. Segusio and Augusta Praetoria) and monuments which propagated Roman ideological messages, like the Tropaeum Augusti (cf. Lamboglia 1983; Binninger 2009), and Roman milestones; this is also reflected by reliefs on arches that opposed ‘barbarian’ versus the ‘civilised’ Roman world (e.g. at Glanum, cf. Gros 1981; Küpper-Böhm 1996; Roth Congès 2000). The monumental architecture of the Principate not only represented the authority of the *municipium*, *colonia* or *ciuitas*, but of the Roman state as a whole, i.e. Rome—and Roman ideals—became omnipresent for all people under the *maiestas imperii Romani*; Rome used this architecture to claim possession throughout the empire, employing clearly identifiable structures (rectangular street grids, walls, porticoes, etc.) to demonstrate its supremacy (Haeussler 1999). Already during the Republic, Rome’s élite fostered the ideology of Rome’s fairness as arbitrator and lawgiver (e.g. *libertas*), to which the Principate added concepts like the *pax Augusta*, *concordia*, *humanitas*, *pietas* and prosperity. Especially for a pre-industrial society, it is important that these concepts were manifested in people’s minds as a constant reminder of Rome’s ideology. And it comes as no surprise that Augustus engaged in the monumentalisation by sponsoring constructions throughout Italy and beyond: emperors became benefactors for local cities. The long reign of the princeps also allowed a redefinition and refinement of Roman culture: Roman culture, Roman myth and Roman history were rewritten under Augustus by Livy and Vergil—both of Cisalpine origin (Mratschek 1984). Livy’s *ab urbe condita* created a progressive, but predetermined history of the Roman empire, which culminated in Augustus’s reign and legitimised Rome’s dominance (cf. Quinn 1979, 75). Like other imperial histories,

Rome's history, too, was 'depicted anew to induce a functional integration of a heterogeneous society' (Léon-Portilla 1985, xi on rewriting history to legitimise Aztec domination by creating an imperial society); consequently origin myths became a means to support the ruling classes and to support Roman domination (Bauer 1996). The choice of Aeneid as for the Veneti and Hercules for Gauls and Lepontii (*v. supra*) reflects how people found (or were given) their place in a mythical Greco-Roman landscape (on Cato's *origines*, cf. Williams 2001). In this way, the formation of a common identity in Roman Italy may have been developing.

Altogether, architecture, literature, religion, *origines* and *humanitas* were all part of a powerful imperial discourse about Rome's superior rôle which people across Italy increasingly participated in. The idea that Rome freely gave away its citizenship is part of this discourse since the Roman *plebs* was not easily persuaded to share its 'power' with Latins and *socii* prior to the Social War. A very essential change took place in Rome herself when the Romans became increasingly capable of integrating people of diverse ethnic origin—not just by exploiting them as manpower for warfare, but integrating them in their own citizen body and giving them equal rights and a share in power—even to the 'Gauls' in North Italy and finally to those in the Narbonensis and Gallia Comata (cf. Claudius's speech in the Senate, AD 48: *CIL* XIII 1668 = *ILS* 212; Tac. *Ann.* 11.24). It seems like a process that gathered momentum—particularly from c. 100 BC onwards. Many developments appear like a by-product of the increasing interaction across the whole of Italy that created social and economic interdependencies between the regions. A very important factor was the personal relationships between individuals and between Rome and conquered communities. This web of social relations, which goes beyond the élites, allowed for an exchange of ideas, a transfer of know-how and the creation of a common identity.

The over-arching question is whether the Roman framework, within which the social agent acted, had become so tight that the social agent did not have much choice but to follow the example set by Rome. Was Roman imperialism really that 'intrusive'? In the second century BC, we can see that multiple exogenous factors need not result in societal integration or cultural reorientation towards Rome, though societal change and new cultural media (drachma, epigraphy) were developed. There must therefore be other factors to motivate and perhaps guide people's behaviour and their cultural choices from 100 BC onwards. Other exogenous factors may equally have been less interfering than expected. Taxes, for example, had become almost negligible once the Cisalpine *peregrini* had acquired Roman citizenship between 90 and 49 BC. And centuriation did not always cause land redistribution, but could also have served to confirm existing ownership and open up additional land in marshy river

plains. The influx of colonists from Central and Southern Italy may also have been limited, while most ‘towns’ in Liguria and the Transpadana were of indigenous origin; though as Roman citizens, people—both autochthonous and immigrants—could move around freely and bought and sold land as they wished (but that was a gradual process of demographic change). During the Republic, the rôles of colonies in spreading ‘Roman culture’ in the Northwest seems absolutely negligible. We can discard the idea of a ‘colonial culture’ that was primarily defined and kept alive by immigrant settlers in which the ‘natives’ were marginalised. Indeed, the differences between ‘Roman’ and ‘natives’ increasingly became meaningless and the best example of ‘*Romanitas*’ was probably not set by veteran soldiers and subélite settlers or colonists, but by certain members of the local élites who endeavoured to excel in their *Romanitas* and display a Greco-Roman lifestyle.

NOTE

1. Permission to reproduce the base map for Figure 3.4 from the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* was graciously granted by Princeton University Press.

CHAPTER FOUR



Adapting and Integrating in the Principate

As we have seen, the Roman framework was becoming tighter from the first century BC onwards with increasingly more people in Northwest Italy experiencing 'Rome' first-hand by participating in political factions, Civil War armies and legions, by participating in Italy-wide economic and social structures or by migrating to other regions of Italy. Faced with new choices and more cultural diversity, the individual could make different choices in his/her life compared to the late Iron Age. As shown in Chapter 2.7, it seems that many local forms of dress, artefacts, funerary practices and Celtic epigraphy were replaced by Latin inscriptions and Roman material culture in the first century BC. The next two chapters aim to analyse people's varying experiences and choices in the Principate: how people expressed their loyalties to Rome, assimilated to élite lifestyle or internalised Roman ideologies to various degrees and how those 'bricolised' their own personal identities, especially a certain 'glocalisation' in Roman Italy. Chapter 4 focuses on people accommodating Roman structures: for example, two conquest scenarios from the Augustan period show people's seemingly rapid integration in Roman cultural expression. Other cases show people accommodating Roman citizenship by participating in a legal discourse and creating new onomastic identities. Finally, we look at the army, not as occupation force, but as a motor for integration, since Cisalpine Gaul was a major recruitment area and as veterans many people made a career in their local Cisalpine community. Chapter 5 then focuses more on cultural developments and issues of *Romanitas*, such as the rôle of élites in spreading Roman culture, cultural developments in the countryside and religious and subaltern identities in rural and urban areas.

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4.1 CLEMENCY AND INTEGRATION

The lack of profound change for many generations after the battles of Clastidium and Como contrasts sharply with developments during the Augustan period when conquest seems to have initiated an almost immediate cultural response. The new developments happened in a very different sociocultural environment when the image of Rome was changing significantly. Instead of exploitation and subjugation, there was an increasing (ideological) emphasis on integrating conquered people (cf. Wiseman 1971, 177–81), and already under Caesar, there were senators from the Transpadana, notably from Comum. Also, the focus on the princeps as *pater patriae* for the whole of *tota Italia* was an important step in restructuring and realigning the societies in Italy. Personal relationships were at the basis of Roman Italy, and as we shall see the proximity to the emperor became an important factor for individual social advancement and a community's prosperity. Another important notion was the *clementia* of the princeps which was a virtue that Republicans largely rejected as monarchical, but which would greatly facilitate the integration process as people decided to make different choices, wishing to demonstrate their *Romanitas*, their *humanitas* and their loyalty to Rome (cf. Haeussler 1997–1998 [1999]). In our area, we find two interesting cases to illustrate Augustan clemency and subsequent rapid integration: the Alpes Cottiae and the Salassi.

With the Tropaeum Augusti (6 BC), the Roman Senate celebrated Augustus's subjugation of 45 Alpine peoples between the Adriatic and the Tyrrhenian Seas. Among them were the Salassi, overpowered c. 25 BC, of whom Strabo (4.6.7) reported that 'Augustus completely overthrew them, and sold them as booty, after carrying them to Eporedia (. . .) Caesar [i.e. Augustus] sent 3,000 Romans and founded the city of Augustus', i.e. Augusta Praetoria (cf. Bessone 1985 for the conflict between Salassi and Romans). Having been annihilated in a legal and literary discourse, what other choice did the Salassi and their élite leaders have after such a defeat? Would they have experienced the same fate as the Boii? In this respect, a Latin inscription from Aosta (23 BC) provides an interesting insight into the almost immediate post-war situation at Augusta Praetoria in which the Salassi expressed their gratitude and loyalty to their omnipotent *patronus* and conqueror, Augustus (Figure 4.1).

In this inscription, the Salassi defined themselves as *incolae*. This is a technical term that implies the existence of two communities, *coloni* and *incolae*, within the colony. The surviving Salassi probably had not received Roman citizenship and although legally separated from the colonists, they must have retained an aspect of their ethnic identity and forms of sociopolitical organisation and financial resources that allowed them to put up such an important inscription within the new colony.



Figure 4.1 Statue base dedicated to the emperor Augustus by the *Salassi incolae*.¹

Imp(eratori) Caesa[ri] | diui f(ilio) | Augus[to] |
co(n)s(uli) XI imp(eratori) VI][II] | tribunic(ia) pot(estate) [XII?] |
Salassi incol(ae) |
qui initio se | in colon(iam) con[t(ulerunt) patron(o).
 alternative reading l.7: *con[t(ribuerunt?)] |*
 (InscrIt 11.1, 6 = ILS 6753 = *IAugPraet* 1)

This participation in the successful colony of Augusta Praetoria, the gateway to the Transalpine provinces, seemingly contradicts Strabo's statement about the enslavement of the Salassi: perhaps not all were enslaved? In two subsequent dedications of similar character during Augustus's reign (c. 1 BC/AD; 6–1 BC), the label 'Salassi' is no longer used (*CIL* V 6834–6835 = *IAugPraet* 2–3). Thereafter it is hardly possible to distinguish the indigenous Salassi from colonists, immigrants or travellers in either the archaeological or epigraphic record. Aosta's prosopography is typical of a Roman colony and only some Greek residents stand out in the epigraphic record. The range of municipal magistrates with *aediles*, *duumviri* and *seuiri Augustalis* is typical of a colony (see Table 3.3). It is unlikely that the Salassi vanished, considering the political weight associated with the dedications to the princeps; but they were no

longer archaeologically and epigraphically visible, though we should not postulate the ‘complete Romanisation’ of the Aosta Valley (as postulated by Walser 1989). As example of ‘monarchical’ clemency, this expression of loyalty might have paved the way for the Salassi’s integration into Roman citizenship. It also shows that it was possible to bypass local hierarchies and appeal directly to the princeps.

A few years after the Salassi, around 14–13 BC, Rome conquered the Alpine region between Cisalpine Gaul and Gallia Narbonensis. But a number of ‘tribes’, not mentioned on the Tropaeum Augusti, constituted the realm of King Donnus (treaty with Caesar 58 BC) and his son Cottius who had been received into the friendship of Augustus and obtained his ‘realm’ as prefecture. Cottius’s actions resembled those of other client kings in the Roman empire, like Herod the Great building Caesarea. In Cottius’s capital city, Segusio (modern Susa)—on the Italian side of the Alps, some 50km west of Augusta Taurinorum—buildings were constructed that were inspired by Augustan Rome. The most symbolic monuments are the arch of Susa and Cottius’s heroon. They show Segusio’s place in a world dominated by Rome, while Cottius also rewrote local history for the advantage of his dynasty. Still Ammianus Marcellinus (15.10.7) in the fourth century AD knew about Cottius’s heroon (cf. Brecciaroli Taborelli 1992; 1994). We can imagine different possible explanations for this heroon: it was most likely inspired by Augustus’s dynastic building programme, notably his mausoleum. But we also find this type of heroisation of individual rulers in many societies in the Roman world that underwent profound upheaval as a result of conquest and urbanisation in which a common ancestor represented values to regain the collective well-being, presented a collective identity and rewrote collective memories and histories. In this respect, Cottius is similar to Augustus in Rome and Romano-British examples, like the hero cult at ‘Folly Lane’ in Verulamium installed some 10 years after the Claudian invasion (cf. Niblett 1999; Haeussler 2009).

The architecture of the honorary arch is also typical of the Augustan period (Figure 4.2; cf. Prieur 1982, 451–9; Cavargna Bontosi 1994; Letta 2007; for the frieze as example of ‘provincial’ art, cf. Cavargna Allemano 1970). It was dedicated to Augustus in 8 BC. Cottius must have acquired Roman citizenship as he used Latin *tria nomina*: Marcus Iulius Cottius. He legitimised his rule in two ways: he was the son of King Donnus and *praefectus* over 14 Alpine *ciuitates* by the grace of Augustus (Figure 4.3).

The main thrust of the inscriptions is to confirm Cottius’s rule over the neighbouring ‘tribes’ for future generations. Equally, the reliefs on the four sides of the arch show the religious and political codification of Cottius’s authority by a *foedus* with Rome (cf. Cavargna Bontosi 1994; Chevallier 1994). On the north side, Cottius is depicted completing a typically Roman *suouetaurilia* sacrifice, and on the south side a sacrifice in honour of the Dioscuri, perhaps representing the sacrifices



Figure 4.2 The arch of Susa (photo: author).

which consolidated the treaty between Rome and Cottius. The signing of the treaty seems to be depicted on the eastern side with two magistrates, Cottius and the Roman general, presumably accompanied by the representatives of the 14 *ciuitates*. Also present are lictors and Cottius wearing the toga: the iconography and the rituals are free of indigenous influence and reflect the arch's Roman character. As in Augustan Rome, architecture was used by a dynastic ruler to occupy social space.

Cottius demonstrated the potential opportunities that were open to members of the local élite who collaborated and adapted to a new political reality—a reality in which proximity to Roman rulers legitimised political authority more than traditional social patterns. The language of social expression is based on models which were 'fashionable' at Rome under Augustus, notably the arch and the mausoleum. The relationship



Figure 4.3 The arch of Susa. Frieze and dedication of Cottius, son of King Donnus (8 BC).

Imp(eratori) Caesari Augusto diui f(ilio) pontifici maximo(!) tribunic(ia) potestate XV imp(eratori) XIII | M(arcus) Iulius Regis Donni f(ilius) Cottius praefectus ceiuuitatum(!) quae subscriptae sunt Segouiorum Segusinorum | Belacorum Caturigum Medullorum Tebauiorum Adanatium Sauincatium Ecdiniorum Veaminiorum | Venisamorum Iemeriorum Vesubianiorum Quadiatium et ceiuuitates(!) quae sub eo praefecto fuerunt.

(CIL V 7231 = ILS 94 = AE 2004, 570)

between Cottius and Augustus made possible the grant of *ius Latii* to the *praefectura* and Roman citizenship for Cottius himself (Pliny NH 3.24; for Latin rights grant cf. Roth Congès 1995). It also allowed Cottius to consolidate—and perhaps even expand—his authority over a number of *ciuuitates*. Since his authority was granted by Augustus, statements of gratitude and loyalty were necessary because Rome could unilaterally interfere in local affairs. In this way, Rome transformed the kingdom of Donnus I in 13 BC into a prefecture for Cottius I. After AD 13, Donnus II succeeded Cottius I, followed by Cottius II in AD 44, who was again granted the title *rex* by the emperor Claudius. When Cottius II died without an heir in AD 63, Nero created the office of *procurator prouinciae* for the Alpes Cottiae. But already under Galba in AD 68/69, the prefecture was re-instituted. Inscriptions from Augusta Taurinorum record euergetism (i.e. benefaction by wealthy citizens to the community) by members of Cottius's dynasty (cf. Letta 1976, 65; 1994; Mennella 1978): this shows how powerful aristocrats engaged in the new centres of power, even outside their own realm, in order to consolidate their status and expand their influence.

Both the Salassi and Cottius's dynasty managed to survive and adapt by their active participation within the new sociopolitical reality that defined them as *peregrini* and *incolae* or as *praefectus* and Roman citizens

respectively within an imperial society. Both had to experience Roman military presence in their territory: there were Roman troops based in the Alpes Cottiae (Suet. *Tib.* 37) and Augusta Praetoria was a bulwark to control transalpine travel. This shows how people had to negotiate their place in the Roman world. Changing Roman attitudes towards conquered populations, and to the *Galli* in particular, during the last century BC, made possible the high degree of participation and integration. And in both cases, we seem to witness how people appropriated the culture and values of the dominant (colonial) power, primarily in order to avoid social discrimination. People adopted new media to communicate forms of allegiance (e.g. Latin epigraphy, architecture), new ideologies to reinforce status locally (e.g. the heroism of Cottius; the dedication to a *patronus*), and both focussed on an urban context. The pristine character of these two monumental Latin inscriptions is very different from the Lepontic and Gallo-Latin inscriptions a few decades earlier: people did not just employ a Roman stonemason; this appears as a conscious attempt to emulate comparable monumental inscriptions from Rome. However, the effect of individual aristocrats and rulers, like Cottius, in spreading Roman cultural values could have been limited. Throughout the Principate, onomastics in the Alpes Cottiae represented a strong 'indigenous' element and even Latin names reflected 'une coloration locale indéniable' (Rémy 2008, 85–6), as did the presence of indigenous deities, notably Albiorix, while Susa's decurions showed their *Romanitas* by representing themselves as *ordo splendidissimus* (e.g. *CIL* V 7249) (for the integration of Segusio in the process of 'Romanisation', cf. Cresci Marrone 1994 who stresses the importance of the passive resistance of King Cottius based on Amm. Marc. 15.10.2).

4.2 ROMAN CITIZENSHIP AND LEGAL DISCOURSE

(. . .) that new members have been brought into the Senate from Etruria and Lucania and the whole of Italy, and that finally Italy itself was extended to the Alps, in order that not only single persons but entire *terrae* and *gentes* should form one body under the name of Romans. The day of stable politics at home and victory abroad came when the *Transpadani* were admitted to citizenship (. . .).

(Tacitus *Annals* 11.24)

In Liguria and the Transpadana, Roman citizenship provided a fundamentally different framework within which people could act. They were no longer second-class *peregrini*, but possessed all the rights and duties of other Roman citizens in Italy that made possible social and

economic integration. Tacitus expressed this notion of ‘equality’ (among the élites) in this address of Petilius Cerealis after the disturbances in Gaul AD 70:

Stability between nations cannot be maintained without armies, nor armies without pay, nor pay without taxation. Everything else is shared equally between us (*cetera in communi sita sunt*). You often command our legions in person, and in person govern these and other provinces. There is no segregation or exclusion (*nihil separatim clausumue*).

(Tacitus *Histories* 4.74)

Some local aristocrats acquired equestrian and senatorial rank, and some ‘sought the privilege of obtaining public offices at Rome’ (Tac. *Ann.* 11.23 on Gallia Comata). But citizenship could catalyse the development of new group identities for all social strata. We have already seen some potential consequences of citizenship; from the archaeological record, the first century BC appears as a period of extreme cultural upheaval across Northwest Italy. In this section, we focus on some of the ways in which people took up the advantages provided by Roman citizenship and how people’s self-representation may have changed, notably by creating Roman-style names.

Most people in Italy had received Roman citizenships after the Social War, except for the Transpadana. According to Cassius Dio (37.9.3), Marcus Licinius Crassus already attempted to give Latin communities in the Transpadana Roman citizenship in 65 BC, but it only happened under Caesar in 49 BC: ‘. . . and to the Gauls living south of the Alps and beyond the Po he gave citizenship because he had once governed them’ (Cass. Dio 41.36.3). Surprisingly the provincial status of Cisalpine Gaul was not dissolved, although a governor had become meaningless when the greater authority had shifted to the praetor and the Senate in Rome. Appian (*B Civ.* 5.12) recorded Caesar’s intention to ‘liberate Cisalpine Gaul’, but he may have delayed this second step because he still needed the province for its manpower and resources (cf. Gabba 1970, 10). Cisalpine Gaul was important for controlling Roman politics: if it had not been a province, how else could Caesar have explained the stationing of troops virtually on Italian soil. This is why senators wanted to put an end to provincial status when Mark Antony demanded the governorship: ‘There were even some senators who advised to free the province from governorship: that much they feared the vicinity of it (Gallia Cisalpina)’ (App. *B Civ.* 3.4.30). When finally in 42–41 BC, provincial status was dissolved, Octavian was attacked for damaging Mark Antony, for whom the province was important for its soldiers and its wealth (App. *B Civ.* 5.3.22; Cass. Dio 45.9.3).

What motivated Caesar to grant Roman citizenship? Like Crassus in 65 BC, his main motivation must have been to reinforce his position in Roman politics. Having been governor there for a decade allowed him to build up a position in which the Gauls could support his political fight. Roman citizenship for the *Transpadani* increased the number of his *clientes* and voters. This move was also directed against Pompeius who still held North Italian support because his father had extended Latin rights to the *Transpadani*. The timing of his grant could also have been a gesture of gratitude for the *Cisalpini* having supported Caesar during the Civil War; Ewins (1955, 94) saw it as a compensation for the future dispossessions for the establishment of veteran colonies once the Civil War was finished.

The grant of Roman citizenship had a multitude of consequences, notably a concentration of power in Rome. First, Roman law applied to citizens and the appeal to the Roman praetor engaged people in a more intense legal discourse. Second, the decision-making processes could involve Rome in many issues, including religious consecrations. Third, the census of Roman citizens decided on people's status, allowing people to join the legions and replacing previous ways for élites to acquire status and *auctoritas*. Fourth, it catalysed municipalisation and urbanism, as we have seen in Chapter 3. Finally, by dividing people not only into *municipia*, but also into *tribus* and *regiones*, cutting across traditional boundaries, Rome created a new imaginary landscape of Italy that inserted people in a new geography that, in the long run, annihilated pre-existing concepts of ethnicity.

The block grant of Roman citizenship must have been an organisational nightmare for the Romans as it necessitated an administrative, constitutional and jurisdictional reorganisation of Cisalpine Gaul. Besides the creation of *municipia*, it was important that these new Roman-citizen communities were assigned to one of the 35 Roman voting tribes (*tribus*) (cf. Taylor 1960; Sumner 1970, 76–7). This increase of the electorate could potentially have had an enormous impact on the balance of Roman politics (e.g. people like Pompeius and Caesar could rally their supporters to Rome). Roman authorities must therefore have taken a special interest in the organisation and definition of the new *municipia*. As shown in Table 4.1, most *municipia* in Northwest Italy were assigned to a different *tribus*. But a large number of towns were assigned to the *Pollia* tribe: these were all located in the Cispadana, with the exception of the Roman-citizen colony Eporedia, and they all belonged to an earlier phase of Roman colonisation between Fulvius Flaccus's activities and Eporedia's foundation; this territory between Eporedia and the Apennines was probably *ager Romanus* or *ager publicus* (Fraccaro 1953, 889). It is perhaps most likely that we are dealing here with early *municipia* that

Table 4.1 Roman-citizen municipalities in Northwest Italy and their attribution to Roman voting tribes

<i>Tribus</i>	<i>Municipality</i>
<i>Pollia</i>	Forum Fulvii
	Hasta
	Pollentia
	Carreum-Potentia
	Industria-Bodincomagus
	Forum-Germa—
	Vardagate
	Eporedia
<i>Galeria</i>	Luna
	Genua
<i>Poblilia</i>	Albingaunum
<i>Falerna</i>	Albintimilium
<i>Camilia</i>	Alba Pompeia
	Augusta Bagiennorum
<i>Trementina</i>	Aquae Statiellae
<i>Maecia</i>	Libarna
<i>Pomptina</i>	Dertona
<i>Aniensis</i>	Vercellae
<i>Claudia</i>	Novaria
<i>Oufentina</i>	Novum Comum
	Mediolanum
<i>Stellatina</i>	Augusta Taurinorum
<i>Sergia</i>	Augusta Praetoria
?	Segusio (<i>municipium</i> under Nero)

acquired Roman citizenship in 89 BC. A similar cluster of towns attributed to the *Pollia* tribe can be found along the *uia Aemila* in Eastern Cisalpine Gaul (cf. Taylor 1960). Elsewhere it is difficult to establish a regular pattern for Roman tribal divisions. The Roman colony Luna, the federate city of Genoa and nearby Veleia and Pisae belonged to the *tribus Galeria*. Mediolanum and Novum Comum were attributed to the *Oufentina* voting tribe. Elections and voting gave people across Italy at least a theoretical share in the power of the Roman state which must have enhanced the common consciousness for new citizens in Italy. While elections and voting lost their importance in the Principate, the *tribus* lived on as part of people’s identity. The *tribus Pollia* alone is attested on some 50 inscriptions in Liguria. It also helps to identify local people: for example, Marcus Vibius, veteran of the IXth Hispanic legion, identified himself at Forum Fulvii with the *Pomptina tribus*, not the ‘native’ *Pollia* tribe (CIL V 7443 = AE 1999, 651). Many people identified themselves with their *tribus*, while ethnic labels—like the Libici—were no longer used as identity markers, unless they survived in toponyms, like the Taurini in Augusta Taurinorum.

A seemingly symbolic division was introduced by Augustus when dividing Italy into 11 *regiones*, similar to the *regiones* in Rome, perhaps in an attempt to create the image of ‘*tota Italia*’ as an extended version of Rome herself (on *regiones*, cf. Thomsen 1947). Our area of study was attributed to the *regiones* IX *Liguria* and XI *Transpadana*, excluding the prefectures and provinces of Alpes Cottiae and Maritimae. According to Pliny (NH 3.115) the western boundary of Liguria used to be the Varus, now the river Macra. The Bagienni are said only to have received Latin rights (Pliny NH 3.24), but they appear to have been part of the *regio* IX. Notably in literature, the term *Transpadana* continued to be used for the entire area between the Po and the Alps in a geographic and not administrative term, while the eastern part became the *regio* X of *Venetia et Histria*. While the regions were often labelled after ethnic names, like the *regio* IX *Liguria*, any association with Gauls or Celts was removed from the new terminology. Our information on the *regiones* is sketchy, but it seems that they were also institutionalised. For example, in the second century AD, they were used as the basis for the various ‘districts’ of *iuridices* whose tasks were to arbitrate between citizens and municipalities on issues of competence and responsibility concerning *munera*, office-holding, *cura annonae*, and so on; for example, there was an *iuridicus (per Italiam) regionis Transpadanae*, responsible for *regiones* X and XI (at Novara: AE 1986, 270; Milan: CIL V 8921; Brixia: CIL V 4332; Concordia: CIL V 1874). Similarly, there were *iuridices* for the combined region of Aemilia and Liguria (AE 1985, 332). But there are also other regions attested epigraphically, like a *uerna disp(ensator) region(is) Padan(ae) Vercellensium Rauennatium*; this might have been a ‘public steward’ responsible for the imperial estates and/or *annonae* situated in the Po Valley between Vercellae and Ravenna (CIL V 2385 = ILS 1509 = AE 2007, 267).

Another important element is the census that was necessary to assess the social ranking of the new citizens. The first more-or-less effective census for Italy seems not to have taken place before 28 BC (Crawford 1996b, 415–7). The census could have posed a genuine threat to established local élites in Northwest Italy as it did not conform to pre-existing patterns of hierarchies, but it focussed on Roman concepts of private property; the need for a regular reassessment shows that changes in wealth and status were expected. It was the duty of *censores* to decide on someone’s status and people could be expelled from the rank of knight or senator for reasons of morality (*cura morum*) (cf. Cancelli 1957). At the same time it offered the subélite classes the possibility of upward social mobility, at least those who could acquire wealth and status in the society of the Principate. The censuses were carried out locally, but integrated with the Roman census (cf. Schönbauer 1952 on Herakleia); on a

municipal level, *duumviri* or *quattuorviri quinquennalis* were chosen to conduct the census every five years (e.g. at Vercellae: *IL* V 111; *AE* 1985, 477; Torino: *CIL* V 7038, 7007, 6965, 6917; Dertona: *CIL* V 7375; Libarna: *CIL* V 7425; Industria: *CIL* V 7481; Hasta: *CIL* V 7566f; Pol-lentia: *InscrIt* 9.1, 179).

Within Italy, we find different legal scenarios compared to the provinces since sociocultural change would take place with direct consequences for people's ambitions, status display and thus material culture. For example, important decisions in religious matters would have been dealt with by the college of *pontifices* at Rome, including for example dedications of temples, religious calendars and festivals, though a certain tolerance regarding local customs is generally recognisable (cf. Galsterer 1976, 128–9). Festus (146L) reports that the municipal sacrifices were those that were observed before people were admitted to Roman citizenship, as the Roman *pontifices* intended that people followed the rites they were accustomed to (cf. Ando 2012):

Municipalia sacra uocantur quae ab initio habuerunt ante ciuitatem Romanam acceptam, quae obseruare eos uoluerunt pontifices et eo more facere quo adsuessent antiquitus.

At the same time, the *lex coloniae Genetiuae* from Urso (Gabba and Crawford 1996) imposed certain Roman civic cults. As we shall see later, the choices of cults, deities and religious festivals in Northwest Italy provides important information of people's religious identities and the evolution of religious cultures (*v. infra*, p. 123).

Roman citizenship also instigated people's integration into a wider legal discourse. With the end of provincial status, there was no longer the need for a governor to arbitrate between indigenous people under customary law and Roman citizens. For many aspects of everyday life, decision-making officially shifted to Rome which marked a significant loss of independence and statesmanship for the local population. In the words of Plutarch on the Greek East, '(. . .) the entire local government loses its authority' (*Prae. ger. reip.* 815a). The effect of this legal discourse is most obvious in jurisprudence since every Roman citizen could appeal to the praetor in Rome. But Rome could hardly have wished to restrict local jurisprudence as it could have barely dealt with such a flood of appeals. There are two legal texts that document Rome's attempt to regulate which lawsuits had to be dealt with in a local community and which could not be transferred to Rome.

The first text, found in the forum of Veleia in the Cispadana, is conventionally called the *lex (Rubria) de Gallia Cisalpina* (*CIL* I 205 = XI 1146; Bruna 1972; Laffi 1986; Crawford 1996c). The second text comes

from Este in Venetia (*CIL* I² 600; cf. Bruna 1972; Laffi 1990; Crawford 1996a; 1998); it has a similar content, but cannot necessarily be attributed to the same *lex*. Crawford (1996a; 1998, 35; *contra* Laffi 1986; 1990) suggests that it was a more general law with validity for all Roman citizens in Italy and may thus have predated the *lex de Gallia Cisalpina*, perhaps dating as early as the 80's or 70's BC, resulting from the need for legislation after the grant of citizenship to communities across Italy after 90 BC. Este demonstrates that Roman procedural law applied to the Transpadana in the second half of the first century BC. The *lex de Gallia Cisalpina* reveals processes of legal integration as a consequence of the citizenship grant. Most importantly, Rome defined the relationship between the praetor in Rome and the local magistracies and the limitations of their authority. The tablet—numbered IV—consists of five chapters (numbered from XIX–XXIV) and presents us therefore with at most a quarter of the original text. Its dating is controversial. The year 49 BC can be considered a *terminus post quem* since it refers to a period when the whole of Cisalpine Gaul had acquired Roman citizenship. Only then can one expect regulations on the jurisdictional competences between the Roman praetor and local municipalities for the whole of Cisalpine Gaul and not just the Cispadana (cf. Bruna 1972, 296; Laffi 1986, 10–11). The *terminus ante quem* is more uncertain. It is often dated before the dissolution of the province in 41 BC because the geographical term *Gallia Cisalpina* was frequently used by this *lex* which may imply a period of provincial status (e.g., Bruna 1972, 297). However, there are strong arguments to date it after the dissolution of the provincial status (for which cf. Laffi 1986, 11–12; Crawford 1996a): not only is the term *prouincia* absent from the text, but the law actually describes a situation in which *Gallia Cisalpina* was obviously no longer placed under the jurisdiction of a Roman governor, hence the need to regulate the relationship between the *municipia* and the Roman praetor. If it had still been a province, cases of appeal would have been dealt with by the governor and not the praetor. Bruna (1972, 294) recognises that the fact that a praetor should have been responsible in a period of provincial status ‘hat etwas Auffälliges’, but he argues that Caesar wanted to ‘assimilate’ the situation of Cisalpine Gaul to that of Italy (cf. Laffi 1986, 11–2 on Mommsen), while Crawford (1996a, 315) convincingly argues that ‘the hearing of cases from *Gallia Cisalpina* in Rome, directly attested by the *Lex de Gallia Cisalpina*, is incompatible with the existence of a governor’. It seems therefore most likely to date this *lex* some time after 41 BC.

There is an important difference from the Este text. While Este only considered three types of community (*municipium*, *colonia* and *praefectura*), the *lex de Gallia Cisalpina* seems to have applied to a large

variety of communities which are repeatedly listed as: *oppidum*, *municipium*, *colonia*, *praefectura*, *forum*, *uicus*, *conciliabulum*, *castellum* and *territorium*. These laws do not deal with specific cases, but they are general laws: it is explicitly stated that Veleia is valid for all communities *quae sunt eruntue in Gallia Cisalpina* (Vel. XXI, 3; similarly XX, 7; XXII, 26; XXIII, 52–3). Among others, this may imply that the process of municipalisation must have taken several generations; Pompeiu's *lex Pompeia* should have created colonies after 89 BC that were subsequently transformed into *municipia* in 49 BC. Instead, the Roman lawgiver acknowledges a wide range of law-speaking venues in the *lex de Gallia Cisalpina*, probably after 41 BC, and we can only speculate on the diversity of indigenous magistrates who spoke law in the various *oppida*, *castella* and *territoria*.

Both laws from Este and Veleia laid out the competences of jurisdiction and the relationship between local municipalities and the Roman praetor. The laws curtail the competences of local magistrates to exercise jurisdiction (Laffi 1986, 22–3; Rodger 1996, 196). The competence of local jurisdiction is curbed both by regulating the subject matters (Laffi 1986, 24) and by limiting the value involved in the case, whereas value means the value in dispute, and not the value of money at the disposition of the judges (Simshäuser 1973, 186–98). This value is set at 15,000 sesterces by the Veleia fragment of the *lex de Gallia Cisalpina* and at 10,000 in the Este fragment. This of course means that only wealthy people could escape local jurisdiction. The stipulations also specify that defendants in certain private lawsuits could not transfer trial to Rome. And despite all restrictions to local magistracies, they still had more competences than defined in the legal texts of the second and third centuries AD when, for example all competences that included *imperium* were excluded from local magistrates (according to Ulpian and Paulus) in contrast to paragraph XX of the Veleia tablet: *pro quo imperio potestateue erit* (cf. Frederiksen 1964; Laffi 1986, 26–9).

The aim of this legislation was to regulate that certain private trials had to be dealt with by local municipalities and could *not* be transferred to Rome. This shows that these appeals were advanced by local people. The appeal to Rome must often have been preferable to being judged by one's fellow-citizen in a small-scale community in Cisalpine Gaul. In this respect, local élites across Italy of their own accord chose to interact more closely with Roman institutions, while the *lex de Gallia Cisalpina* also defined—or asserted—their authority in jurisprudence which helped to stabilise local hierarchies, while at the same time spreading Roman concepts of law, morality and jurisdiction across Cisalpine Gaul. To appeal to Roman authorities in cases of internal social strife is also well known for many Greek *poleis* and their relationship to Rome (cf. Nörr 1969).

Jurisprudence can be an efficient means to integrate people into a discourse on power: lawsuits would replace military resistance. Food for thought is provided by Stern's (1982a) case study of South America. Soon after the Spanish conquest in the mid-sixteenth century AD, the viceregal court was flooded by petitions and lawsuits between native communities. In the words of Stern (1982a, 310), 'the natives' very success at using Spanish juridical institutions created forces in everyday life and struggle that undermined organization of a wider, more unified, and independent movement (. . .)'. Besides eroding existing customary laws, the colonial legal system helped to 'subjugate' the local population. In the long run, indigenous litigation weakened capacities for independent resistance by fostering rivalry and conflict among the natives and by integrating them into imperial power structures; therefore 'it set into motion relationships that sustained colonial power' (Stern 1982a, 311). Similarly in the Roman context, by voluntarily using Roman juridical institutions, many individuals participated in a legal discourse that made them dependent on Roman authorities and Roman expertise.

This legal discourse is one aspect of how important Roman power structures became for local people, especially for the new local members of the senatorial and equestrian classes who participated in networks of powerful connections between Italic élites and Rome. With the enfranchisement, status and *auctoritas* had to be increasingly acquired in a Roman environment, while local competences increasingly operated in a Roman-style context. Roman power structures therefore must have had a direct impact on aspects of identity and culture from the last century BC onwards. But a barrier had to be crossed between using a small range of Roman symbols of power in a native context and seeing oneself as part of a Roman élite, aspiring to careers outside one's home community, participating in Roman power structures and eventually internalising Roman values and cultural models. These are societal developments that could not have been ignored by the social agent, but the question arises whether he/she adopted a Roman identity as a consequence of being a Roman citizen. It seems that the break-up of local hierarchies was imminent in the second half of the first century BC and that it may correlate with the rupture in the archaeological record discussed in Chapter 2.7.

Latin—a Preferred Choice for People's Identity?

In the Principate, Latin epigraphy became people's preferred choice—at least in a public context. Some people already spoke Latin in the second to first centuries BC, but Lepontic continued to be used on public inscriptions. This changed during the first century BC, notably after 49 BC. To show one's status as a Roman citizen, people adopted a Roman-style

tria nomina with *praenomen*, *gentilicium* and *cognomen* (cf. Haeussler 2008a). There are of course purely pragmatic reasons for such a change: some people may have only used a Roman name for official purposes, for example on official documents, like censuses and enlisting in the Roman army, while private documents (e.g. letters, curse tablets and graffiti) may reveal other choices. But the preference for a Roman name could have been a deliberate cultural choice for some, as in the case of Marcus Iulius Cottius, son of King Donnus: already his name must have revealed to contemporaries where he stood, including his social links with the princeps. From the epigraphic record in Cisalpine Gaul, the willingness to show off the newly acquired status by a new name seems surprising. But we should take into account that in many societies a person may adopt several names in the course of his/her life. For example, a modern case-study documents the ease with which people changed their names depending on age, initiation, status, profession and social context—still in nineteenth-century France (Zonabend 1977). Changing one's name when joining the army or acquiring Roman citizenship might therefore have been natural to some people.

Many names in the Principate may appear typically Roman, but we can also see an enormous creativity in the choice of names. The *gentilicium* is of particular interest since it was new to most indigenous onomastic systems. Most *peregrini* only had a single name, though in some regions of Italy, people had already developed something like a *nomen gentilis* and the survival of indigenous names is therefore more likely: for example, Oscan family names like *Annii* and *Atiniis* could easily have been 'Latinised' as *Annius* and *Atinius* (Lejeune 1977b, 38–40; 1978). The earliest recorded Oscan, Etruscan and Latin names suggest that the *gentilicium* was formed from the father's name, a kind of patronymic that had become static and did not change any more, which therefore created a need for an additional filiation (Untermann 1958). Also in Venetic and Ligurian, we can identify a kind of 'family name' that could have simply been turned into *gentilicia* (Untermann 1958, 177–82). The difference between onomastic habits around Milan/Como/Novara and the Ligurian or Venetic evidence is barely visible to us in pre-Roman times. Already on Lepontic inscriptions we find double names in the same *casus* (Untermann 1959, 87–9): but when setting up Latin inscriptions, the people in Venetia turned their second name into a *gentilicium*. However, people in the later *regio XI Transpadana* rendered their second name as patronymic (cf. Untermann 1956; 1958; 1959–1961), as in the case of the Todi bilingual inscription: *Koisis Trutiknos* (a patronymic with the suffix -knos), which was rendered as *[Coi]sis Drutei f(i)lius* in the Latin text (RIG II.1, *E-5; cf. Untermann 1959, 87–89) (but *tanotaliknoi* from Briona [*v. supra*] appears unusual

for a patronymic; hence Untermann 1959, 88 interprets it as a kind of family name).

After 49 BC, many people had to invent a personal family name. Some adopted an already existing Roman *gentilicium*, like the name of their Roman *patronus*, e.g. Iulius. But many *gentilicia* derived from indigenous names, such as *Curbo* in *Bassus Curbonis Sexti f(ilius)* (CIL V 6907 = TROS no. 21) or *Veriouna* in *Veriouna Prisca Q(uinti) f(ilia)* (TROS no. 47). The concept of a family name that was handed down from one generation to the next does of course change people's perception of their identity; specifically it allows a genealogical construction of history.

One might argue that the rigid conventions of the Roman onomastic system did not leave much scope for innovation, nor self-identity. The *praenomen* is highly standardised and was always abbreviated in a Roman context. Also the choices for a *cognomen*, which had only become increasingly popular in Rome during the late second and first centuries BC (Nicolet 1977), were usually rather limited in each branch of a *gens*. It was a system that could not be freely elaborated by individuals. In his study of naming practices, Gardthausen (1917) even denied Roman citizens a free choice of names since names were necessary to identify people's statuses and origins in census lists. Roman names provided important information on a person's social status, for example whether a person was freeborn or a *libertus*. But much information escapes us since it was based on a certain notion of 'connaissance empirique' (Nicolet 1977, 50): Cicero (Verr. 2.4.81) explained that 'the *cognitio*, which create the *studia* and the *artes*, is no larger than that of the *genus* and the *nomen*', so that the choice of *praenomina*, *nomen gentilis* and *cognomen* might provide more detailed information on people's status and origin to contemporaries. For people who acquired Roman citizenship, the choice of name must therefore have been an important factor of their identity and in being accepted or rejected within a particular social group. We consequently have to examine more closely the spatial and social variations in the onomastic habit: are there different choices depending on 'class' and origin?

If we look at the evidence from Northwest Italy in the Principate, we can see many variations from the Roman 'norm'. For example, proper *tria nomina* are surprisingly rare in rural areas and even rarer is the use of abbreviated *praenomina*, although it was standard in Roman usage (Lejeune 1977b, 37 called the change from single names to a Roman names a rupture; cf. Leglay 1977, 273; Cresci Marrone 1991a, 85). In Northwest Italy, it was very common to put (indigenous) single names in the position of a *praenomen*, as in *Mocetius Pontius Iuantugeni f(ilius)*

(TROS no. 27, cf. Chapter 5.6). Some Roman citizens also used non-abbreviated filiations with Celtic onomastics, as in *Ategnatia Adgennis f(ilia) Secunda* (AE 1989, 320 = 1992, 642; Delamarre 2003, 31, s.v. ad-, 57, s.v. ate-, 180f, s.v. gnatos). There also seem to be names that are typical of an *ethnos* or region and are recognisable by their linguistic origin (cf. Schulten 1902–1903; Alföldy 1966; Nicolet 1977, 52–3) or their spatial distribution (for the dangers of such associations, cf. Syme 1964, 105; Wiseman 1971, 207). For example, *cognomina* like *Ligus* or *Ligurus*, three examples of which are known from Alba Pompeia alone (CIL V 7597f, 7607), could indicate a Ligurian identity, though in the Principate *Ligurian* probably refers to the Augustan *regio IX Liguria* and not to a pre-Roman ethnicity.

Altogether it seems that the degree of impersonality and rigidity of the Roman naming system has often been overstressed. Onomastics allow us to gain an insight into personal and local identities—and the wide diversification of naming practices. A large number of cases seem to reflect a transitional stage from Celtic to Latin onomastics with the son or daughter having a Latin name, while the parents have a Celtic name, as in Quintus Orbicius, son of Velagnus or Cornelia Vibia, daughter of Cintullus (TROS no. 26; cf. Delamarre 2003, 116, s.v. cintus; 176–7, s.v. genos; also cf. TROS nos. 6, 8, 27, 40, 61, 69, 72). Generally one might assume that the Roman name was a marker of Roman citizenship, but in the cases of the Transpadana and Liguria this would imply that the grant of citizenship must have taken longer to reach all people, notably those in rural areas: or perhaps people only received citizenship (or developed a Roman-style name) when they enrolled on a census register or when their community was attributed to a *municipium*.

In addition, many Italic and Latin names might have been consciously chosen because they bore a resemblance to Celtic onomastics—so-called ‘deckname’ or perhaps more precisely ‘noms d’apparence latine’, consisting of ‘nom d’assonance’ and ‘noms de traduction’ (Rémy 2008; Coşkun and Zeidler 2005). For example, a Latin name like Enicius or Enicus resembles Celtic names starting with *Eni-* such as Enignus, Enicenus, Enimanuus, and so on (CIL V 7859, 7845, 7641; Mennella 1983, 25; cf. Haeussler 1993 [1994], 2008a; for Celtic names in *Eni-* and their geographical limitation around the Alpes Maritimae, cf. Delamarre 2003, 162, s.v. eni-). Interestingly, a number of names seem specific for certain regions of Northwest Italy. Already Jürgen Untermann (1950, 142–3) has noticed that the name Sextus was widespread around Brescia but that people made different choices around Mediolanum, adding an –l-suffix, Sextilius, which for Untermann (1960, 292) shows that we are dealing with two populations that expressed their Otherness by a conscious choice of names. The onomastic landscapes in Liguria, Transpadana

and Venetia, reflect, for Untermann, a geographic disposition that was developed before the Principate.

The choice of a Latin name as deckname reflects a gradual process of changing local onomastics. We should not forget that people like *Akisios Arkatakوماتerekos* did not feel it necessary to acquire 'proper' Roman names. Also, the names of Roman senators from North Italy in the first century AD reflect a variety of onomastic traditions: indigenous names were inserted into the Roman *tria nomina*, and many Cisalpine senators had Celtic names, like *Mutto*, *Ruso*, *Tappo*, *Tuticanus* or *Viscus* (Alföldy 1982, 312).

Increasing interaction across Italy had already resulted in local onomastic repertoires being enlarged in the late Republic without having adopted an Italo-Roman identity. People took on Latin, Etruscan and Oscan names, as we have seen in the case of the *Kuitos lekatos* from Briona; similarly in other regions, such as Venetic *Auhroi* (dat.) for Latin *Afer* and *Segtio* (dat.) for *Sextius* (cf. Lejeune 1977b, 39). But the widespread creation of *gentilicia* and the use of *tria nomina* also reflect much more profound changes: people rejected local epigraphic traditions. Besides Roman names, individuals adopted the Latin language, titles, formulae and abbreviations. This is not because locals simply employed a Roman stonemason. People still had the choice of using the Lepontic alphabet, and the increasing use of stone inscriptions even led to a peak in Lepontic inscriptions in the late Republic as with Etruscan and Oscan inscriptions. Instead, Latin epigraphy had become a necessity for many people in the early Principate, wishing to express a direct association with Roman power. Latin epigraphy was a medium to display one's place in the Roman world and one's *Romanitas* (cf. Haeussler 1998b; 2008a). For those people who participated in Italy-wide social relations, inscriptions in languages other than Latin must have become meaningless, perhaps even considered inadequate, even more so if they were used for inter-élite competition and self-representation in a public arena that was increasingly dominated by Roman-style institutions and the proximity to Rome (for Gaul cf. Christol 1995; Woolf 1998, 100).

But we should not forget that people could have used epigraphy—both Lepontic and Latin—in a variety of ways which would not have resulted in a high degree of 'standardisation'. There were also alternatives to Latin stone inscriptions: for example, it would have been possible to use uninscribed stones with figured reliefs (e.g. in Bordeaux, cf. Woolf 1998, 192; cf. Etienne 1962, 160–63 for inscriptions; Braemer 1959 for figured reliefs). Roman onomastics was a question of status and rank: Latin language was already a *lingua franca*—at least for the élite in the Republic—but the choice of Roman-style funerary *stelai* and

honorary inscriptions, the types of lettering, formulae and abbreviations, was a qualitatively different cultural choice. People might have followed the example of Rome—and Augustus—as trendsetter, but it may also reflect that Latin had also acquired a certain status, since for the ‘civilised Roman’ both Latin and Greek were considered sacred languages (Haeussler 1998b). It is therefore not surprising that those who primarily made use of epigraphy consisted of a small club of people, namely the élite and members of their households (in particular their *liberti*). The increase in inscriptions and the strong presence of freedmen is not a trickle-down effect of the epigraphic habit down the social scale (Woolf 1998, 100), since legally most *seuiri* had a much lower status than the poorest freeborn citizen. Table 4.2 provides an overview of the social status of the people attested on inscriptions in Northwest Italy, at least of those whose status and gender can be determined. The proportions are similar to those in Lombardy (cf. Agnati 1997): 55% freeborn men, 30% freeborn women, 14% *liberti*.

This type of statistic of course does not provide an insight into individual cases. For example, many of the freeborn citizens were the children

Table 4.2 People’s genders and social status in the epigraphic record of Northwest Italy (numbers in parentheses refer to exceptional inscriptions that contain long lists of names which distort the statistical evidence)

Number of Attestations	Freeborn Men	Freeborn Women	Freedmen	Freedwomen	<i>Serui</i>
Novaria	37	32	7	7	0
‘Novarese’	74	35	4	4	0
Vercellae	39	23	2	2	0
Industria	30	7	3	1	1
Augusta Praetoria	38	16	6	3	3
Augusta Taurinorum	149	81	15	22	0
Segusio	57	32	17	5	
	(+7)				
Alba Pompeia	23	17	6	5	2
Augusta Bagiennorum	9	3	1	1	0
Hasta	37	13	9	8	0
Dertona	40	26	7	3	0
Aquae Statiellae	19	19	5	2	0
Libarna	17	6	1	0	0
Albintimilium	28	18	2	3	2
Albingaunum & Savona	23	14	1	1	0
Luna	47	19	13	5	6
	(+26)				(+17)
Total	667	361	99	72	12
	55%	30%	8%	6%	1%

of freedmen: sometimes we know the status of the parents, but often we can only suggest that the choice of cognomen (e.g. Greek) and office (*seuir Augustalis*) could indicate a second-generation freedperson, as in the case of *P. Atilius Nicostratus Vluir aug(ustalis)* from Alba Pompeia (*CIL* V 7602). Also, the motivation to set up an inscription is lost in statistical presentations, as in the case of *T(ito) Marcio T(iti) l(iberto) qui eam rei priuatae curam adhibuit* [—] from Augusta Taurinorum (*CIL* V 7097). The over-representation of élites, their freedmen and their descendants and the under-representation of modest landowners should make us aware of the cultural decision-making process behind this choice. Epigraphy was a particularly powerful medium in periods of change: people worried about their status, especially those who migrated or were uprooted from their homeland. A first-century AD inscription from Narbo expresses the ‘need’ to immortalise the names of those who died in an alien country (*CIL* XII 5276): *ne terra aliena ignoti cum | nomine obissent, hic titulus | paruo proloquitur lapide*. This reflects a cosmopolitan society where common Roman citizenship facilitated migration and allowed people to start a new life or make a career whatever their origin: Gaius Avilius Caimus, for example, came from Patavium, a *ciuis Terraconensis* can be found at Pollentia (*CIL* V 7628), and the Greek or freedman, Gaius Iulius Euphrosynus, received honours *ob merito*, perhaps as *patronus*, in Augusta Bagiennorum (*CIL* V 7699).

4.3 THE ARMY AS MOTOR OF INTEGRATION

The army plays an important rôle in the socioeconomics of the Roman empire. But we should not overrate its importance. Certainly, in some provinces, like Britain, the large military deployment must have had an enormous effect on local economies and societies (Mattingly 2006), but in most parts of the Roman empire, the army was barely present. Even the conquest was carried out without permanent garrisons; in the late third and second centuries BC, only colonies like Cremona and Piacenza played the rôle of a Roman bulwark. Subsequently, the army was hardly necessary to achieve coercion in Northwest Italy, though sometimes acting as a police force, as in the internal troubles reported for Pollentia under Tiberius (Suet. *Tib.* 37). A visible presence might even have been counterproductive: the more numerous the occupation troops the more they might hinder social integration because of the confrontational situation; this was no scenario for locals to aspire to the culture of the conquerors, like the Germans who ‘had not, however, forgotten their ancestral habits (. . .)’ (Cass. Dio 66.18; cf. interaction between natives and soldiers in frontier regions: Cherry 1998; Clarke 1999). The presence of an army therefore need not be a catalyst for integration and cultural

change. Also, the improved infrastructure, for which the army provided the manpower and specialist personnel, needs to be taken up first by the local people in order to trigger sociocultural change. Certainly, the Roman army was important for expansion, to punish defected allies and to provide coercion, security and law enforcement as well as the menace of military intervention for defiant provincials. But as a means of political dominance, the army was costly and unstable, and alternative forms of coercion, especially of ideological nature, were more effective (cf. Carneiro 1981, 37–9; Webster 1985).

What we are interested in this section are people who took up the opportunities provided by the army and who adapted to a new way of life. The Roman army was a particular social place where people of various ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds had to get on with each other and where Roman symbols of power and hierarchical structures were communicated. Many years of service (*c.* 20 years for a legionary in the Principate) would allow a man to socialise into these social structures. And many of those who made a career in the army, returned home to Hasta, Vercellae or Augusta Taurinorum to start a municipal career because the status they acquired in the legion was highly valued in the local community.

The situation in the Republic was different from the Principate. It is very clear that military organisation and social structures were very closely related in the Republic; Rome can be described as war-like, since the whole society was geared up for war, like the organisation of the Roman *populus* in *centuriata* (cf. Gjerstad 1972; Taylor 1960). Andreski (1968) and Harris (1979) have previously shown how social and political compositions were closely linked with forms of military organisation. The Roman Republic also built on the expertise of its allies, exploiting their military potential, structuring Italian societies according to Rome's military needs. In the so-called *formula togatorum*, the military contributions of Romans and allies who were subject to conscription were defined (cf. Bispham 2007, 61; Brunt 1971, 677ff; Hantos 1983, 164–66). This collective involvement in warfare also created a common consciousness when people of diverse ethnic background worked together and defended each other according to 'bilateral' agreements with Rome. Joint warfare was one important factor that led towards a unified Italy: having to supply troops to fight side-by-side with Roman citizens (legionaries) actually *engaged* the allies in Roman affairs. The cooperation between Rome and her allies created common political and economic goals since both profited from the spoils of successful warfare. It also highlighted the unequal access to resources in Italy and created the aspirations to Roman citizenship and a share in power as well as Gabba's 'coscienza unitaria con Roma' (1984b, 214).

In Northwest Italy, weaponry and armour as grave goods in cemeteries down to the first century BC also show the importance of warfare for local people (cf. Chapters 2.1, 2.7). But this does not necessarily mean that Cisalpine societies were war-like, as these grave goods might merely have had a symbolic or sacred meaning. The disappearance of weapons as grave goods is significant: except for Lombardy, it often only occurred after the grant of Roman citizenship (Chapter 4.2), perhaps implying that members of the local élites no longer associated themselves with military symbols and warfare but perhaps with their rôle in civic society. Between Marius and Octavian, military organisation and levy were step-by-step taken away from local élites in North Italy. This would require a realignment of local hierarchies and a restructuring of local ideologies, notably since warfare for Roman citizens was now largely organised by Rome and involved a larger number of people of various status.

This built-in involvement of locals and natives in the Roman army is fundamentally different from modern colonial encounters, though there are some parallels. We have already seen that the recruitment of *Cisalpini* during the late Republic resembles the British recruitment of ‘natives’ in America or India where they were recruited as mercenaries for individual campaigns and for pay. Both Rome and modern colonial governments recognise(d) the advantages of certain native fighting techniques, such as Rome’s mounted archers—the *sagittarii*—and the ‘Celtic’ cavalry units. Modern conquerors have also frequently attempted to create ‘proper’ armies in their own image. In a Roman context, we may compare this with the attempts of the defecting Roman general Q. Sertorius to introduce Roman weaponry and Roman formations in Spain (Plut. *Sert.* 14):

In consequence of these successes Sertorius was admired and loved by the barbarians, and especially because by introducing Roman arms and formations and signals he did away with their frenzied and furious displays of courage, and converted their forces into an army, instead of a huge band of robbers.

Sertorius’s—or rather Plutarch’s—discriminatory view of ‘barbarians’ is obvious. Although this was a specific situation in Spain, there would also be an increasing standardisation of auxiliary units as standing military units with regularised organisation, equipment and conditions of service from c. 30 BC (cf. *gladios* at Ornavasso, *supra*), though often under native command until the Batavian revolt.

But not only were Rome’s allied contingent on a way to consolidate alliances in a form of mutual defence agreement, modern colonial concepts of the ‘native’ or ‘savage’ differ from the increasingly multi-ethnic

Roman army in which Roman citizenship was the only prerequisite for the legions. In the first century BC, the legions were opened up to the *Cisalpini* who were heavily recruited under Pompey, Caesar and the subsequent triumvirs. But at the same time, warfare also entered a different dimension—an experience that must have had a profound impact on people's perceptions across Italy. During the Gallic and Civic Wars, a significant section of the Cisalpine population was directly or indirectly affected by war and politics, actively serving in the army or suffering from extortion, colonisation and land confiscation. Having travelled with charismatic generals, like Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Caesar, Mark Antony, Octavian or Agrippa, to the fringes of the empire, this must have significantly changed people's cultural horizon. Familiarity with different cultures, a shared experience in 'heroic' battles and first-hand knowledge of Roman symbols of powers and the ideological warfare in the triumviral and Augustan periods must have made it difficult for many veterans to reintegrate into the local context of a small-scale Cisalpine community with its traditional hierarchies and lifestyle. This might have been a major factor in discrediting existing local ideologies in Northwest Italy, paving the way for more deep-reaching societal and cultural changes. In turn, local élites might have used their participation in Civic War armies as a means of reinforcing their statuses, like the Iulii in Transalpine Glanum, whose mausoleum is a monument to the epic battle at Pharnakeia under Caesar in 47 BC (Roth Congès 2000; 2011). This shared experience must have provided a powerful momentum to stimulate sociocultural change.

This leads us to the rôle of the army in the Principate. For the Roman citizens in Northwest Italy, it was one of many career options that allowed individuals to acquire status and a steady income. As organisation and levy was no longer under the control of local élites, the army also catalysed people's integration into Roman structures and facilitated empire-wide spatial mobility. As in the first century BC, people from Northwest Italy continued to join the Roman legions in large numbers. By comparison, Central and South Italy predominantly provided men for the urban and praetorian cohorts at Rome, while regions II and III underwent a 'demographic crisis' (cf. Forni 1992). Despite the difficulty of providing valid statistics on the basis of a limited number of relevant inscriptions, it is possible to show the origins of legionaries from *regiones* IX and XI, which clearly declined in the late first century AD (cf. Table 4.3 after Forni 1992, 85). This also shows that the army can only have provided a major impetus for sociocultural change in the early Principate.

For the *regio IX Liguria*, 56 legionaries, 49 praetorians, 2 *uigiles* and 6 members of the urban cohorts are attested, mainly dating to the period

Table 4.3 Major areas of recruitment of legionaries from *regiones* IX and XI in the early Principate

Augustus, Tiberius and Caligula	Claudius and Nero	Until Trajan
Aquae Statiellae		
Dertona		
Forum Fulvii		
Augusta Praetoria	Hasta	
Eporedia	Augusta Praetoria	
Mediolanum	Mediolanum	Ticinum

from Augustus to Trajan (Mennella 1980; 1984): and in the Transpadana west of the Ticino, there are 38 legionaries attested as well as four *Transpadani* from Rome's praetorian and urban cohorts (cf. Table 4.4). But people's motivation to join the army varied enormously from region to region and there is no clear pattern to explain this. The largest number of military personnel and veterans comes from Augusta Taurinorum, Hasta and Vercellae, three communities of very different origin: a first-century BC veteran settlement, a second-century BC *conciliabulum* and the 'native' oppidum of the Libici. There are 15 soldiers attested in Hasta alone. But the majority of veterans can be found at the Augustan veteran colony of Augusta Taurinorum, which received further settlements of veterans in the early Principate. For example, there was a *curator ueteranorum legionis IIII Macedonicae* at Turin: such a curator was the commander of a unit or *uexillatio* of semi-retired legionaries, in this case the fourth Macedonian legion (48 BC–AD 70) (cf. Keppie 1973; Southern 2006, 163). Inscriptions like these not only indicate the non-Cisalpine origin of some of Turin's veterans, they also show some of the social groupings within a municipal community and people's continued allegiance to the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

The army was also a motor of spatial mobility, moving people around the provinces. Many soldiers from Liguria and the Transpadana were based along the Rhine–Danube *limes*, such as the veteran Caius Arruntius Primus from *Assta*(!) (Hasta) who died near Carnuntum in Pannonia superior (cf. Mennella 1980; 1984 for Ligurians; for *Transpadani* along the banks of the Rhine, cf. soldiers from Eporedia [CIL XIII 6914, 6981, 11854] and Augusta Taurinorum [CIL XIII 6862, 6870] and a number of *Taurini* [CIL XIII 6887, 6899, 6902, 8080, 8734]). We also find Lucius Valerius Geminus from Forum Germa(norum) at Alchester in Britain (RIB III 3121). But this statistic is slightly distorted since many veterans who had returned home may not have set up a tombstone after leaving the army. Another large section of Ligurians and *Transpadani*

Eporedia	6782f		6785		6782f		6785		III 2711
	AE 2005,								
	897, III								
	6413 XIII								
	6914,								
	6981,								
	11854								
	RIB 3073								
	AE 1968,								
	466								
Augusta Praetoria Augusta Taurinorum	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	7003-5	VI 2421,	AE	6969	7004	6969	7157	7012	6969 6995 6974-7
	7010f	2630,	1995,	7004	7004	7004	7161	7003	7002 7153 6969 7002
	7157	2918 IX	686	6996			7163		7002. 6995
	7161 AE	4688 XIV	6969	7000			6997?		7008 AE
	1995,	2951	7003	7164			7005		2003,
	686 XIII		7007				7006		1436f
	6862,								
	6870,								
	6887,								
	6899								
	6902								
	8080								
	7255	7258		7255					7256
				7257					
Segusio									

(Continued)

Table 4.4 (Continued)

	Legion- ary	Cohors Praetoria	Primus Pilus	Centurio	Benefi- carius	Praef. Fabr.	Vetera- nus	Auxiliary Cohors	Praefec- tuse	Trib. Milit. (leg./coh)	Trib. Coh. Praet/ Urban. Latisclavi
Carreum- Potentia	7495 AE 1991, 717	VI 37202					AE 1991, 717				
Pollentia	VIII 3007?	VI 2439?									
	XIII 5240, 6898, 6908 AE 1925, 131										
Forum Vibii							7341				
Caburrum											
Augusta	7667	AE 1921,						7717	?AE 1921, 5		
Bagiennorum	7730 III 13481, 13484 Pais 977 AE 2002, 500	32									
Alba Pompeia (Spigno M.)	7544 VIII 1839 AE 1999, 658		7600	7544 VIII 1839			7601		AE 1999, 659	AE 1999, 659	

Hasta	7553 7558– 7561 7591 XIII 6875, 8057 AE 1904, 160 AE 2003, 29 AE 1998, 516 XIII 6906	7594VI 2505f	AE 2003, 29	7553 7560	7559	7567 Pais 970	7558 7559 7561 7591 AE 1998, 516	7567	7566	7559
Vardagate						7458			7458	
Forum Fulvii	AE 1999, 651						AE 1999, 651			
Valentia	7443 AE						7443		7447 AE	
Bassignana	1999, 651						<i>Suppl</i>		1999, 651	
Monte- castello	<i>Suppl</i> 17.FF, 3						17.FF, 3			
Dertona	7366–8 III 4057 XIII 5206, 6960 AE 1984, 412 AE 1995, 1168	VI 2466, 2970 AE 1983, 52			7366	7369 7370 7373	7366 7371 AE 1998, 519 III 2915, 4057		7370	7366

(Continued)

Table 4.4 (Continued)

	Legion- ary	Cohors Praetoria	Primus Pilus	Centurio	Benefi- carius	Praef. Fabr.	Vetera- nus	Auxiliary Cohors	Praefec- tuse	Trib. Milit. (leg./coh)	Trib. Coh. Praet/ Urban. Latisclavi
Aquae Statiellae	7508III 2833, 9904Titu- liAquinc 2, 666	VI 32676				7515					
Libarna				7426		7425	7426	7425	7425 AE 1992, 631 7740		
Genoa (Rovereto) Albintimilium	?Ness- Lieb 258	7740 VI 2867 AE 1984, 412 VI 2589 AE 1984, 64			7740				AE 1992, 682, 662		
Albingaunum	XIII 6966AE 1990, 371	VI 2529		SupplIt 4.A, 10					7784		
Luna	XI 1322	XI 6965a AE 1985, 390		XI 1322		XI 1326 1331 1342 6967	AE 2000, 351 555	AE 1990, 351 2000, 555	XI 1326 6964 AE 2000, 555	XI 1331, 1341f, 6955 6964 AE 1978, 317	

was stationed in Rome where they served in the esteemed praetorian and urban guards, especially people from Hasta and Vercellae, but also from Novaria, Augusta Taurinorum and Eporedia and—in the Alpes Cottiae—Segusio. Entering into the prestigious Roman praetorian guards reflected the important patronage links between Rome and members of the local aristocracy (cf. Chapter 5.1).

The individual's experience in the legion must have necessitated a self-assimilation to some extent in order to avoid discrimination. The legion promoted a particular form of Roman culture (cf. Mattingly 2006, 199–224), but it also advanced a basic knowledge of Latin (cf. the poets from Bu Njem: Adams 1999), Roman religion and history to a relatively large number of subaltern people (if we assume 28 legions under Augustus of 6,000 soldiers each, this equals approximately c. 168,000 people—largely recruited in Italy—plus a comparable number of auxiliaries). At the same time, being stationed abroad also created new identities, like a sense of 'global' identity, being part of Italy and the empire and fighting together with fellow legionaries from across the empire; it could have also created a stronger feeling of local identity, a feeling of 'Otherness' and the particularities of one's home community, whereby most soldiers from Cisalpine Gaul publically identified themselves by their *municipium*, not by any pre-Augustan ethnic identity—at least on inscriptions.

The society of the early Principate was evolving rapidly. Certainly after Roman citizenship we can expect a significant degree of individualisation in the urbanised communities of Northwest Italy. As Roman citizens in the Principate, people joined the Roman legions voluntarily. Social advancement must have been an important motivation. The army meant status, glory, *auctoritas*, cash donations, land allotment and a steady salary; the remaining *peregrini* in the Alpes Maritimae and Cottiae, and perhaps the Bagienni, were additionally rewarded by Roman citizenship on retirement. Social mobility was a very important feature of the Roman army (cf. Andreski 1968, 134–8; Dobson 1978; Patterson 1993). In this respect, a career in the army could translate into status in a local community where veterans were frequently chosen as local magistrates. For many subélite people, the rank of *centurio* or *primus pilus* was the limit of their possibilities after 20–25 years of service, but this was often sufficient to enter a civil career. Some *primi pili*, for example, achieved lower-ranking magistracies: [Titus —]laeinus from Hasta acquired the quaestorship (Mennella 1984, 230), others became *aedil* or even *duumvir*, such as Quintus Carrinas, *Pol(lia tribus)* from Alba Pompeia: *centurio primi pili aed(ilis) Iuuir* (CIL V 7600). In this respect, the career of Gaius Valerius Clementus from Augusta Taurinorum seems exceptional: as former *primus pilus*, he not only held the most prestigious

civic magistracy of Turin, *Ilvir quinquenalis*, but he also was *flamen Augustalis perpetuo*, and as *patronus coloniae* he represented the city to the emperor (CIL V 7007).

A civic career as *quaestor*, *aedil* or *duumvir* is even more common for tribunes and prefects. The dedication of Libarna's *plebs urbana* to Quintus Attius Priscus illustrates an outstanding career, at municipal and imperial levels: not only did he hold the most important municipal magistracies—both civic (*aedil*, *duumvir quinquenalis*) and religious (*flamen Augusti* and *pontifex*)—he was also *praefectus fabrorum* ‘officer of engineers’ (i.e. the equestrian title of *praefectus fabrum*), prefect of three cohorts, military tribune of the *legio I Adiutrix* and prefect of the first Augustan Thracian *ala* (CIL V 7425). Similarly, the *patronus municipii* of Albingaunum was the tribune of the third Gallic legion and *eques Romanus*, who was proclaimed *civus optimus* by the *plebs urbana* (CIL V 7784).

The rôle of an army career for one's status in the local *municipium* shows the importance of the imperial hierarchy. The position of military commander—already a position of trust endowed by the emperor—granted many powerful commanders the position of *flamen Augusti*: Caius Valerius Pansa, for example the *primus pilus*, *tribunus cohortis*, *praefectus* and *proc(urator) Aug(ustae) prouvinciae Britanniae*, was also *flamen* of the deified emperors Vespasian, Trajan and Hadrian at Novaria (CIL V 6513). This substantiates the relationship between the emperor and an individual who negotiated power relationships between the local municipality and ‘Rome’, while at the same time, the *flamen* also appropriated the political and religious *auctoritas* to enforce coercion in the local context. This is an institutionalisation of power that had no equivalent in the Republican period.

Altogether, it seems that the army provided a motor of societal integration at various levels. Between the second and first century BC, fighting side-by-side with the Romans and profiting from the spoils of war created a common consciousness, partly ‘Roman’, partly ‘pan-Italian’. But people still fought in ethnic units that were organised by local élites which could also strengthen local hierarchies. Increasingly, the individual social agent might have seen a chance as soldier or mercenary to improve his personal status and wealth. This was going to change significantly after Marius, the Social War and especially after 49 BC. People's participation in the Gallic and Civic Wars was probably an important turning point that created a shared memory that shaped people's identities across Italy. Subsequently, individuals chose to join the army as a career move—making a career in the legion or praetorian guard, some of whom returned home after their service. They had to adapt to life in a Roman legion, participate in an imperial discourse, engage in collective rituals to celebrate the emperors' anniversaries and

learn empire-wide symbols of power that manifested Roman superiority. Socialising in Roman army structures also meant learning new cultural and behavioural models. But people did not just adopt an ‘army culture’. Instead they used their knowledge to adapt it to their own needs. For example, the cults and deities observed by the Roman army (e.g. *Feriale Duranum*, cf. Fishwick 1988) bear hardly any relation to the cults worshipped by individual soldiers through Latin inscriptions that also contained many local or imported deities (e.g. Haeussler 2008c). Individual soldiers made personal choices, taking up new language, media and symbols acquired in an army-context and combined them with personal cognitions and experiences.

NOTE

1. Utilisation for Figure 4.1 was authorised by the Région Autonome de la Vallée d’Aoste, Assessorat de l’Education et de la Culture, photo: S. Pinacoli.

CHAPTER FIVE



Identity-creation in a Global World

So far we have explored how the individual may have been pressured to adapt to new sociocultural structures, for example when acquiring Roman citizenship or joining the Roman army. It could also be argued that Cottius's display of Roman culture was above all an expression of loyalty to Augustus and an attempt to shake off the image of a 'barbarian' in order to consolidate his personal power and profit from his proximity to Augustus. But was this all calculated? And did not even Cottius buy into Roman ideologies and aspire for the lifestyle of the Roman élite? Though Roman imperialism might have provided a 'framework' which may have moved people to modify their behaviour, we can imagine that the social agent *could have developed* a variety of responses—only a few would lead to people 'buying into' Roman culture. The Gallo-Latin bilingual inscription from Vercellae, for example, had an undeniable 'experimental' and 'creative' character. But in the Principate, the epigraphic habit and material culture appear predominantly 'mainstreamed' and their appearance follows a range of conventions with only a few local particularities. In other words, people did not just adapt to the political and economic reality of the Roman empire, but there were more profound processes with a cultural component in people's decisions.

We therefore need to consider qualitatively different types of cultural change. The question arises as to what extent Roman cultural propositions had acquired meaning in Cisalpine Gaul and whether they even became sufficiently compelling to motivate people's actions. Internalisation means that cultural models engage people's minds and influence their actions; even more, people hold certain cultural understandings with strong convictions as they engage their emotions (cf. Chapter 1.4). As we shall see in this section, we can identify some individuals in Liguria and the Transpadana who engaged in Roman society with its values and

Becoming Roman? Diverging Identities and Experiences in Ancient Northwest Italy by Ralph Haeussler, 215–304. ©2013 Left Coast Press, Inc. All rights reserved.

moral obligations. Concepts like *humanitas* may thus have constrained people's choices, following the *exempla* set by the senatorial class and promoting a sense of 'Roman civilisation' in Northwest Italy. Then again, we should not ignore the fact that this 'self-Romanisation' of the top élite not only reflected the individual's aspirations and his/her self-perception within the *Imperium Romanum*, but it also meant a wide-scale rejection of pre-existing cultural models and sociopolitical patterns. After having re-enacted, adapted and modified previous societal and cultural models for generations, the question arises as to what could have possibly motivated individuals throughout Northwest Italy and beyond the Roman West to initiate such profound sociocultural change during the late first century BC. Here, we also have to examine how local people—notably élites—participated in a dense network of social relations that crossed the boundaries of local communities and *ethnoi*—a process that was intensified by the acquisition of Roman citizenship. This brought about not only the use of Latin and cultural symbols as a *lingua franca*, but the development of supra-regional élites whose identities and lifestyles were shaped by Italy-wide cultural models. Local élites in the Northwest did not just copy Roman knights and senators, but their personal identities probably incorporated many elements, with the display of status and wealth aiming to demarcate oneself from other élite people in the same community, creating a very complex patchwork of identities. As we shall see, élites engaged in typical Greco-Roman cultural models, like euergetism, and thus promoted certain 'Roman' forms of culture. The landowning, wealthy and governing élites controlled many local institutions, for example by funding cult places, theatre or gladiatorial performances that involved a wide proportion of the local population whose allegiance was sought by local élites through such acts of coercion and reciprocity. But the élite's *Romanitas* depended on many factors, notably status: while senators could excell in their 'Romanitas', the municipal élites might have reflected much more bricolage and hybridisation between senatorial élite culture and local traditions and cognitions.

While some people made such conscious decisions, for others this might have been a more unconscious process. For example, many people adopted cultural elements which were available to them, which they experienced (e.g. in performances) or that were appropriate to a particular context or social status. But it is important not to attribute a 'passive' rôle to the subaltern classes. After all, if we consider a legitimisation crisis an important premise in setting off the cultural 'rupture' in the late first century BC, then it must have been the subaltern classes who challenged pre-existing hierarchies and status symbols, for example by circumventing existing social hierarchies. Roman cultural models cannot be expected to have simply trickled down the social strata, but local people developed

their own group identities. In Section 5.6, we shall examine the various ways in which subélite classes created their identities in urban and rural contexts during the Principate.

5.1 ÉLITES AND ÉLITE CULTURE

It is striking to what extent it has become virtually impossible for us to identify the ethnic identity of powerful aristocrats in Northwest Italy during the Principate, to say who is of indigenous origin and who is not. It seems that there was a top élite that aimed to display their *Romanitas* and *humanitas* as perfectly as possible, just like their counterparts in other parts of Italy. We have already discussed the various reasons why élites might have done it. If they had only intended to employ new media and symbols to consolidate their power, then we would expect to find much more diversity in the archaeological and epigraphic record. But lifestyle and representation of élites appear very similar across Italy as well as their political and social aspirations and functions, like aspiring to municipal and imperial *cursus honorum* or acting as *patronus* and *euergetes*. These people participated in a particular kind of élite discourse in which their position and authority increasingly depended on Rome so that we can expect that many of them bought into certain (Roman) ideologies that guided their behaviour and shaped their identity.

However, these élites did not constitute a uniform club. Each individual created his/her own representation of the self, using the available cultural repertoire, including cultural models that motivated and guided people's behaviour in certain contexts (and it is this repertoire that became more and more 'uniform'). There were also status-related differences that make it difficult to talk about a 'local elite'. There were the large landowners who made up the municipal élites with a seat in the local *ordo*; some decurions were probably of native descent, especially in the *municipia* of native origin, like Vercellae, Novaria or Libarna, but land would also have been owned by newcomers and absentee landlords. Moreover, many decurions also owned land in several *municipia* and operated politically in several communities, which means that they might not have identified themselves with a particular *municipium* (or *colonia* or *ciuitas*), nor can we expect a consensus among the 'local élite' of any given *municipium*. In addition, there are also those of equestrian and senatorial status—both of indigenous origin and newcomers—who were also very active on the local level as patrons and philanthropists. These also provide important links between Rome and the local community, building up an important web of powerful patronage networks across Italy and beyond. And senators did not just reside in Cisalpine communities, but like Pliny in Comum they also had influential positions,

for example as *flamen* and *euergetes*. As such, they appear as important trendsetters—not just in promoting Roman culture, but also in setting *exempla* of appropriate ‘élite behaviour’.

Together, these various élite members constituted important nodes in a dense net of social relations across each *municipium* starting on the top with senators, equestrians and decurions to the subaltern classes, including the *clientes* and *liberti* of the élite, both in the towns and the countrysides. As we shall see, many *municipia* in Roman Italy mirror this kind of cosmopolitan or ‘imperial society’ in the Principate, but there was also enormous variation in how individuals, collectives and communities saw themselves within the Roman world.

We would expect social and cultural expressions in Roman veteran colonies—like Augusta Taurinorum—to have been relatively standardised. By contrast, the towns of indigenous origin may allow us to recognise more discrepant cultural developments. Different cultural choices depended on local circumstances where local élites and *euergetes* might have played an important rôle in shaping the cultural language and appearance of a *municipium*. For example, a town like Bodincomagus-Industria illustrates the importance of immigrant families as cultural trendsetters; Novaria presents a strong local identity and Vercellae gives an insight into how the external relations of the local aristocracy could shape the aspirations of her citizens. Superficially, the epigraphic culture of these three *municipia* looks very alike: high quality Latin inscriptions with the standard range of phrases and formulae. But underneath this veneer, there are subtle differences, as in the case of Vercellae and Novaria (Table 5.1) (cf. Haeussler 2008a).

Local and personal identities as well as choices of names, cults, careers and epigraphic expressions, correlate with the activities and aspirations of the major protagonists in these two *municipia*, namely the wealthy and powerful landowners. Vercellae and Novaria are not chosen by chance, since both were discussed earlier as representatives of late Iron Age cultural expression: and it is therefore interesting to see how local choices changed the nature of these sites in the Principate.

The indigenous oppidum *Vercellae Libiciorum ex Salluis ortae* (Pliny *NH* 3.17.124) had been a major junction in the protohistoric trade between the Po Valley and Transalpine Gaul. Early indicators of an urban landscape started as early as 100 BC. Vercellae also contributed to one of the most ambiguous Republican inscriptions, namely Akisios’s bilingual inscription dedicating a *campus deis et hominibus*. Vercellae’s epigraphic culture in the Principate is, however, very different in nature. In this Roman-citizen community, society was dominated by members of senatorial and equestrian ranks, and the focus on imperial structures is apparent. A significant proportion of Vercellae’s citizens,

Table 5.1 Differences in the epigraphic habit in two *municipia* of indigenous origin: Novaria and Vercellae

Novaria	Vercellae
75% <i>tria nomina</i> in city; but single names are common in the countryside; also cognomen in place of praenomen	Rarity of single names in city and countryside
Hardly any <i>tribus</i> attested	<i>Tribus</i> very common
Equestrian families who also serve as local magistrates	Many senatorial families in imperial service and as local <i>patroni</i>
Some poorly Latinised and some Celtic onomastics or decknames, even more in countryside	‘Purely’ Latin names dominate
Importance of local magistracies, esp. <i>IIIvir</i> and <i>quaestor</i>	Status acquired in an imperial hierarchy dominates record
Euergetism: building work in Novaria	Service in the Roman praetorian cohorts
Northern Novarese retains non-Roman characteristics, but also in Novara itself	Village of Cerrione stands out in non character
Numerous cult places to ‘indigenous’ deities	Latin theonyms dominate

at least those who made use of epigraphy, saw themselves and their future as part of the Roman empire. The large number of senatorial families must have been very influential in shaping Vercellae’s society of the Principate, as they provided a direct link to Rome. Alföldy (1982, 358–9) identifies at least six, perhaps even eight, members of senatorial families from Vercellae.

In this respect, the case of Lucius Iunius Vibius Crispus demonstrates the rôle of senatorial families in Vercellae, while his outstanding career demonstrates the advantages of education and ‘self-assimilation’ to the dominant culture (*CIL* V 6660; cf. *Schol. Inv.* 4.81). Vibius Crispus achieved the consulship three times, once under Nero, once under Vespasian in 74 (*AE* 1968, 6) and again under Domitian in 83. This must have been the same Vibius Crispus who was *curator aquarum* in Rome in AD 68–71 (Frontin. *Aq.* 102; Alföldy 1982, 358), *proconsul Africae* (Pliny *NH* 19.4) and *legatus pro praetore in censibus accipiendis Hispaniae citerioris* under Vespasian (*AE* 1939, 60). The importance of the *Vibii* at Vercellae is reflected by the large number of inscriptions (e.g. *ILV* 18; 47–49), including *liberti* at Vercellae and nearby Ghemme (Novaria) (*SuppIt* 19.5, 8 = *AE* 2002, 597; *CIL* V 6590 = *AE* 2001, 1086), possibly one of their rural residences.

Tacitus (*Dial.* 8) gives his view on Crispus’s astonishing career. He described him as being of humble origin and unworthy conditions:

No, what makes them (L. Iunius Vibius Crispus and Eprius Marcellus) famous is simply their eloquence. The meaner and the more humble was

the origin of those two men, and the more notorious the poverty and want that hemmed in their young lives, so the more brightly do they shine as conspicuous examples of the practical advantages of oratorical power. Though they had none of the recommendations of birth or the resources of wealth (. . .) they take today the leading place in the Emperor's circle of friends.

This is a prime example illustrating upward social mobility at the highest level of Roman society. But it also demonstrates Tacitus's perception of the importance of eloquence and rhetoric as a premise for social and political acceptance in the Roman empire. Tacitus's mentioning of 'humble origin' does not mean that he was a 'native'; his name appears perfectly Latin, though it could also include a 'deckname': Iunius, for example, which resembles Celtic names like Iouincus and Ioinchus (cf. Delamarre 2003, 191).

The rôle of senatorial families, well-integrated in Roman forms of power and representation, was not without consequence for Vercellae. They introduced aspects of Roman lifestyle, hierarchies and symbols of power, promoted *Romanitas* as the etiquette of their social status, and they engaged in Roman-style social activities, such as *euérgetism* and the Roman-style manumission of slaves. Proximity to Rome and the princeps were ways of acquiring social prestige and *auctoritas* at the local level. As a result, Vercellae's élite generally appears outward looking. Other social groups were also affected, like those people from Vercellae who had joined the praetorian cohorts in Rome, many of whom died in Rome where we find their tombstones, like that of Marcus Valerius Secundus who gave his *origo* as *Vercellis* (AE 1989, 80; cf. Quintus Clodius Secundus, fourth praetorian cohort *CIL* VI 2533; Lucius Atilius [Pri]scus, eighth praetorian cohort, *CIL* VI 2664; Lucius Catalus Crescens, ninth cohort, *CIL* VI 32703). This contrasts with only one person attested at Rome from neighbouring Novaria, *C(aius) L(iuius) Iustus Nouaria*, soldier of the fourth praetorian cohort (*CIL* VI 2540).

Another senatorial family from Vercellae are the *Domitii* (mainly second century AD). They illustrate an imperial aristocracy that cannot be down to any pre-Roman ethnicities. Besides Lucius Domitius Apollinaris, the legate of Lycia and Pamphylia (c. AD 93/94–95/96; *IGRRP* III 559; Martial 10.12.1ff: *Apollinae Vercellae*; Pais, *SuppIt* 899), we find Domitia Vettilla (Figure 5.1), daughter of Domitius Patruinus who was honoured by the *seuiri Augustales socii cultores domus diuinae* of Vercellae as wife of Lucius Roscius Paculus, who was *consul designatus* and *consul sufragationis* (c. AD 136) and presumably came from Lusitania (*CIL* V 6657 = *ILS* 6741a; cf. *CIL* II 468 from Emerita Augusta). This reflects the character of an influential Roman élite of the



Figure 5.1 Dedication to Domitia Vettilia, daughter of Patruinus, wife of the consul L. Roscius Paculus, by the *seviri Augustales* from Vercellae (ILV 7).¹

Principate which intermarried and had socioeconomic interests across geographical boundaries, making it difficult to determine whether the *Domitii* were of indigenous Libician origin, were descendants of Central or South Italian immigrants or were from another region of the empire. In any case, by the second century AD this would no longer have been an important distinction.

Among the numerous *equites Romani* at Vercellae, Gaius Vettius Valerinus and Gaius Erennius Amintas Medirnianus (of the local *tribus Aniensis*) were both *quattuorviri iure dicundo* (CIL V 6758a; a certain Erennia is also attested at nearby Trino). Other aristocratic families that reached the prestigious quattuorvirate include the *Didii* (ILV 11; 26) and the *Clodii* (ILV 16; 24). In Vercellae's territory, Titus Clodius Severus (ILV 90) and Publius Clodius Myro (ILV 105) promoted rural cults to Jupiter Optimus Maximus at their probable rural power base, the villages of Bianzé and Santià respectively. The social importance of the *Valerii* in Vercellae is attested by a large number of inscriptions: at Vercellae there is Quintus Valerius Viator, Publius Valerius Silonus, Valerius Restitutus and, and at nearby Albano, Gaius Valerius Priscianus (CIL V 6654, 6659, 6709–6710, 6764).

Since *Romanitas*, *Latinitas* and *humanitas* were so important at Vercellae, an assessment of the demographic composition of the oppidum *Vercellae Libiciorum ex Salluis orate* has to remain ambiguous. Like

the senatorial and equestrian families, those people who made use of epigraphy at Vercellae used it to manifest their *Romanitas*. It is therefore no surprise that epigraphy reflects the almost ideal image of Roman epigraphic standards consisting of *tria nomina*, Latin onomastics, Roman-style careers and Latin formulae. While there are nine people with Greek names (slaves and freedmen), Celtic or Ligurian onomastics or single names are virtually absent, which is quite unexpected for a settlement of indigenous origin. The epigraphic record from Vercellae's territory is very similar and reflects the activities of the same élite that is active in the town, like the *Clodii* and *Vibii*. In the context of a Roman citizen community, *tria nomina* and *tribus* no longer served to publicise the acquisition of Roman citizenship, but it was a social expression that displayed the position of the individual and the *municipium* within the empire and their close connections with Rome (*tria nomina* is attested 26–28 times at Vercellae in contrast to only 5 certain negative cases). In Vercellae's territory, there was one main exception: in the village of Victumulae (modern Cerrione), we find the typical peregrine (Celtic) naming practice consisting of single name and filiation, such as *Fronto*, *Verionis f(i)lius* or *Secuttius Ebrisci f(i)lius* (AE 1988, 617–22; Brecciaroli Tadorelli 1986) (Figure 5.2).



Figure 5.2 Inscription in situ from the necropolis of Cerrione (Brecciaroli Tadorelli 1986, plate LXXXVIII. LXXXVIII; Cresci Marrone and Solinas 2013).¹

The prominent rôle of families of senatorial and equestrian rank as *patroni*, who were active in *euérgetism*, philanthropy, festivals and the imperial cult had a significant impact on the character of Vercellae's society. Their strong links with Rome secured the position of this *municipium* within the Roman empire and shaped people's identities. In addition, there are those who sought a career in Rome's urban and praetorian guards, setting the example of Roman culture as represented in archaeology and epigraphy, and who also wished to acquire the eloquence which would allow them, like Vibius Crispus, to 'take the leading place in the Emperor's circle of friends' (Tac. *Dial.* 8).

This is quite different from nearby Novaria which was also a *municipium* of indigenous origin. As we saw in Chapter 2, the territory of the Vertamocori displays a much stronger and persistent identity from the Golasecca period onwards as demonstrated in important late Iron Age sites like Oleggio, Briona and Cureggio. The local population seemed to perpetuate this strong sense of identity into the early Principate, both in the culture (for example at Oleggio and Arona, cf. Spagnolo Garzoli [ed] 1999; Gambari and Spagnolo Garzoli 1997) and in the comparatively non-classical character of religious worship in the Novarese (Table 5.2; cf. Mennella 1998). Also the onomastic evidence documents a different creation of local and personal identities compared to Vercellae. It was more acceptable for magistrates in Novaria, both in the town and the countryside, to bear a Celtic name (for Novaria, cf. e.g. Ateroni: *CIL* V 6518; Delamarre 2003, 58; Eburius: *CIL* V 6521, Delamarre 2003, 159; Canina: *CIL* V 6528; Delamarre 2003, 103 and *Mottiaes(!) Verecundaes(!)*: *CIL* V 6545; Delamarre, 2003, 229–30; cf. *Cintullus* at Cureggio: *CIL* V 6604f; Delamarre 2003, 116; *Virilionis* at Casalino: *CIL* V 6484; Delamarre 2003, 320–21; at Suno cf. *Eburius*, *Exorati f(ilius)*: AE 1999, 782; Delamarre 2003, 159; *Mogetius*: AE 1999, 782; Delamarre 2003, 212; *Cominius*: *EpiNov*-App 12; Delamarre 2003, 226–7, plus numerous 'decknamen' like *Atilius* for Celtic *Attalius*: *CIL* V 6484; cf. Delamarre 2003, 59).

But Novaria was not a cultural backwater: Latin inscriptions were common throughout her territory and usually of a very high standard. Indeed, the focus of Novaria's wealthy and governing élites was less on Rome and the princeps, like at Vercellae, but they took pride in local affairs and in local political institutions, and *quattuoruir* and *quaestor* were still prestigious positions, like the *IIIuir iure dicundo* Gaius Arbussonius Victor (*CIL* V 6517), the *IIIuir iure dicundo m(unicipii) N(ouariae)* (*CIL* V 6521), the *IIIuir a(edilicia)p(otestate)* (*CIL* V 6521, 6596) or the *quaestor aerarii* (*CIL* V 6519–6520) (cf. Table 3.3). This does not deny that the imperial cult was important at Novaria—numerous *seuiri* and *flamines* are attested, but for example [—]ano [P]ub(?) at Biandrate

Table 5.2 Overview of dedications in Northwest Italy

	Greco-Roman Theonyms	Female Greco- Roman Theonyms	Roman Priesthoods (imperial cult)	Possible ‘Celtic’ Deities/Theonyms	Greco-Oriental Cults
TRANSPADANA					
Novaria	Jupiter/IOM (V 6502a) Mercury (V 6506–7)	Bellona (V 6507)	<i>seuir</i> (V 6524) <i>seuir et Augustalis</i> (V 6505, 6516 6518 6525? <i>Flamen</i> (V 6513–4, 6516, 6517 6520, 6523) <i>seuir</i> (V 6576, 6482) <i>seuir Augustalis</i> (AE 2000, 632) <i>Flamen harruspex</i> (V 6582, 6591)	<i>Matronae</i> (V 6504)	
Novaria’s territory	Apollo (V 6603) Hercules (V 6484, 6570, 6581, 6622, 5520f, 8930f, Pais 844, 893) Jupiter (6503, 6503a 6566, 6569, 6571f, 6594, 6606f, 6630, 8994, Pais 843, <i>EpiNov</i> 12, 30) Mars (V 6603; Pais 894) Mercury (V 6567, 6576–8, 6594, 6610, 6620 M(ercurius?)) 6573f M() (6482; AE 1999, 762) Neptune (V 6565) Silvanus (V 5524)	Minerva (V 6489, 6608f) Diana (V 6493, 6497, 6613f, AE 1965, 353) Victoria (V 6579, 8932)	<i>Matronae</i> (V 6594, 6488, 6491, 6497a, 6575, 6594 6615, 6619, 6641) Moccus, Tincus (AE 1992, 855)	Mithras (CIL V 8997)	

Lomellina	IOM (V 5213)Mars (V 6478)M(ercurio?) (V 6471, 6482, Pais 874)	Minerva (V 6479) Victoria (AE 1992, 776)	<i>seuir</i> (V 6472 6473, 6482) <i>Flamen</i> (V 6480)	
Vercellae	IOM (V 6652) Deus Mars <i>conseruator</i> (V 6653) [M(arti)] AE 1986, 268 Nymphae (V 8940)	N[ymphae] (V 8940)	<i>seuir Augustalis</i> (V 6657–8; AE 1985, 477) <i>seuir iniior</i> (V 6663, 6665)] <i>Augustalis</i> (ILV 111) <i>Flamen</i> (V 6494, 7373) <i>Sacerdos diu[al]e Augustae</i> (V 6992) <i>sexiur(!) et Augustalis</i> (V 6599) <i>Flamen ciuitatis Vercellens(ium)</i> (V 6494) <i>Pontifex</i> (ILV 109 = V 8937) <i>augur</i> (ILV 109 = V 8937)	<i>Matronae</i> (V 6654) <i>Deus Inuictus</i> (V 8939)
Vercellese	IOM (V 6765, 6767) Mercury (V 6596)			
Eporedia	D(eus) Iuppiter O(primus) M(aximus) (AE 1988, 611a–b)Mercury (V 6777)	Victoria (V 6819b)	<i>seuir</i> (V 6786, 6789 7033 <i>Suppl</i> t 12–In, 7 <i>seuir (et) Augustalis</i> (V 6777 6787 6792 6795) <i>seuir magister Augustalis</i> (V 6775) <i>Flamen</i> (V 6797; <i>Inscr</i> It 11.1, 20) <i>seuir magister Augustalis</i> (V 6775) [-] <i>Augustalis</i> (ILV 111) <i>sacerdos diu[al]e Augustae</i> (ILV 93)	<i>diuum fulgur conditum</i> (V 6778)
Biella	Jupiter (V 6774) [Mars?] (ILV 103)	Diana (V 8942)		

(Continued)

Table 5.2 (Continued)

	Greco-Roman Theonyms	Female Greco- Roman Theonyms	Roman Priesthoods (imperial cult)	Possible ‘Celtic’ Deities/Theonyms	Greco-Oriental Cults
Augusta Praetoria	Jupiter, Iuno, Minerva (V 6829) Mercury (V 6830) Apollo (<i>InscrIt</i> 11.1, 41) Luna (<i>IAugPraet</i> 16) Asclepius (V 6970) Hercules (V 6952, 7144?, <i>Epigraphica</i> - 1999–60) Iuppiter Aug. (V 6955) Liber Pater (V 6956) Mercurius (V 6957, 7145?, 8122.4) Silvanus Aug(ustus) (V 7146)	Jupiter, Iuno, Minerva (V 6829) Diana (V 6828) Fortuna (<i>InscrIt</i> 11.1, 4) Iuno (V 6950?, 6954?) Victoria Augusta (V 6959–6960) Diana (AE 1995, 686) Hygia (V 6970)	<i>seuir</i> (V 6828) <i>seuir Augustalis</i> (V 6823, 6828, 6837) <i>Augustalis</i> (V 6831, <i>IAugPraet</i> 12) <i>flaminica</i> (V 6840; <i>InscrIt</i> 11.1, 20) <i>Augustalis</i> (V 6952, 7013f, 7017, 7023, 7029, 7031) <i>seuir Augustalis</i> (V 7020, 7027, 7030, 7036, 7167f, ILS 7614) <i>seuir</i> (V 7019, 7024, 7033, 7035) <i>seuir iunior</i> (V 7026) <i>Flamen</i> (V 6480, 6995, 7002, 7007, 7021) <i>flami</i> - <i>nica</i> (V 6954, 7629; AE 1952, 150) <i>pontifex</i> (V 6996, 7021) <i>sacerdos urbis Romae</i> <i>[aet]ernae</i> (V 6991) <i>sacer</i> - <i>dos Lanuinus</i> (V 6992)		Mithras (V 6831, <i>IAugPraet</i> 12)
Augusta Taurinorum					Isis (V 6953) <i>uiribus aeternis</i> <i>taurobolio</i> (V 6961f) Sol (V 6958)
Torinese	Jupiter/IOM (V 6948, 8917, AE 1991, 884) Hercules (V 6947)				

ALPES COTTIAE Segusio, Avigliana	Apollo (V 7232; AE 2007, 909+; Apollo Belenos (AE 1959, 170) Hercules (V 7240) Iovi O M (AE 1999, 998) IOM (V 7209, 7239)? Mars (AE 2007, 909a) deus Silvanus, (AE 1992, 1159)	Fortuna (V 7233) M(inerva) (V 7242)	<i>seuir Augustalis</i> (V 7255) <i>Flamen</i> (V 7259)	Albiorix (AE 2007, 909c, d) Belenos (AE 1959, 170) Matronae (V 7210f)
LIGURIA Forum Vlbii	Mars (<i>SupplIt</i> 12–In, 1) M(ercurio?) (AE 2007, 564) Silvanus <i>conseruator</i> (<i>SupplIt</i> 12–In, 2)	Victoria (V 7338 = <i>SupplIt</i> 16–FV, 1) Minerva (V 7473)	<i>flaminica diuae Drusillae</i> (V 7345) <i>flamen</i> (V 7478; <i>SupplIt</i> 12–In, 6) <i>seuir</i> (<i>Augustalis</i>) (V 7480; 7486; 7464; NSc 1903, 44; Pais 958f; <i>SupplIt</i> 12–In, 7) <i>seuir</i> (<i>et</i>) <i>Augustalis</i> (V 7496–8)	Serapis-Isis-sanctuary Mithras (V 7474)
Carreum		Minerva (V 7497) M(inerva) (AE 1991, 716) Diana (V 7493f) Victoria (V 7493)	<i>seuir</i> (V 7616; 7642) <i>seuir Augustalis</i> (V 7618, 7670) <i>flaminica</i> (<i>InscrIt</i> 9.1, 129) <i>magister Augustalis</i> (V 7604) <i>sacerdos diuae Plotinae Pollentiae</i> (V 7617)	<i>dendrophori</i> (V 7617f)
Pollentia	Iuppiter/IOM (V 7239 <i>InscrIt</i> 9.1, 126; <i>SupplIt</i> 19–P, 2–2a) M(ars?) (<i>SupplIt</i> 19–P, 3)	Victoria (V 7614, AE 2002, 488) Deana(l) (V *902)		

(Continued)

Table 5.2 (Continued)

	Greco-Roman Theonyms	Female Greco- Roman Theonyms	Roman Priesthoods (imperial cult)	Possible 'Celtic' Deities/Theonyms	Greco-Oriental Cults
Pollentia's territory	IOM (V 7632; <i>SupplIt.</i> 19.P, 1–2)	Diana, Diana Augusta (V 7633, AE 1900, 94; <i>InscrIt</i> 9.1, 176–8) Victoria (V 7644)		<i>Matronae</i> (V 7226–7228)	
Augusta Bagien- norum	Silvanus (V 7704) Hercules (V 7672, 7804) Lares Aug (V 7689)	Diana (V 7645; <i>InscrIt</i> 9.1, 90) Fortuna (<i>InscrIt</i> 9.1, 3) Victoria (V 7695, 7721)	<i>seuir Augustalis</i> (V 7677, 7678, 7647, 7722) <i>seuir</i> (V 7670, 7683; <i>InscrIt</i> 9.1, 24, 58) <i>Augustalis</i> (V 7676) <i>magister Augustalis</i> (V 7604) <i>Pontifex</i> (V 7670)	<i>Matronae</i> (V 7690, 7703)	
Forum Germa() Caraglio	Marti (<i>SupplIt</i> 13.F, 1) [Marti —]rcido (<i>SupplIt</i> 13.F, 2) IOM (V 7860)	Victoria (V 7831, 7833, 7843; <i>SupplIt</i> 13.F, 3–4) Victoria (V 7861, <i>InscrIt</i> 9.1, 59)	<i>Flamen</i> (V 7852)	<i>Matronae</i> (V 7848f, AE 1999, 677) Rubascus (<i>ILS</i> 4683) Robeonus (<i>ILS</i> 4683)	
Pedona	Neptun (V 7850) Deus Mars Leucimalicus (V 7862, 7862a)				
Alba Pompeia	M(ars?), M(ercury?) (V 7553, 7597) Lares (AE 1999, 657)	M(inerva?) (V 7597)	<i>seuir Aug.</i> (V 7545 7602, 7609; <i>SupplIt</i> 17.AP, 8; 10; <i>AlbaPomp</i> 2.5) <i>magister Augustalis</i> (V 7604) <i>Flamen</i> (V 7605)		

Hasta	IOM (<i>SupplIt</i> 24.H, 29)	Minerva (V 7365)	<i>seuir</i> (V 7562, 7564, <i>SupplIt</i> 10.H, 6) <i>Flamen</i> (V 7458)	<i>dendrophori</i> (<i>SupplIt</i> 10.H, 7)
Hasta's territory Dertona	Silvanus (V 7364)	Diana (V 7592) Minerva (V 7363)	<i>seuir</i> (V 7362, 7372; AE 2007, 565–6) <i>Flamen</i> (V 7373, 7375) <i>Flamen</i> (V 7425, 7428) <i>Pontifex</i> (V 7425, 8937) <i>Augur</i> (ILV 109 = V 8937)	Mithras (V 7362)
Libarna	<i>Diis</i> (!) (V 7424) <i>M(arti?)</i> (AE 1980, 492)		<i>Matronae</i> (V 7423)	
Vardagate	Jupiter (V 7449, 7459) IOM (V 7461) Neptune (V 7457)	Minerva (V 7462)	<i>seuir</i> (V 7464f, 7456) <i>seuir et Augustalis</i> (V 7455) <i>seuir</i> (V 7447, 7533, 7806; <i>SupplIt</i> 17.FF, 5) <i>Pontifex</i> (V 7515) <i>augur</i> (V 7515) <i>seuir</i> (V 7510; Pais 967) <i>seuir Augustalis Flauialis</i> (V 7509, 7511)	
Forum Fulvii				
Acqui Terme	<i>di deaeque omnium</i> (<i>SupplIt</i> 25.AS, 5) Jupiter Maximus (<i>SupplIt</i> 25.AS, 1) Lar- es (<i>SupplIt</i> 25.AS, 2) Mercury Aug(ustus) (<i>SupplIt</i> -25-AS, 3) Mercury Negotiator (<i>SupplIt</i> 25.AS, 4)		<i>Dormino</i> (V 7504) <i>Suetai</i> (V 7504)	

(Continued)

Table 5.2 (Continued)

	Greco-Roman Theonyms	Female Greco- Roman Theonyms	Roman Priesthoods (imperial cult)	Possible 'Celtic' Deities/Theonyms	Greco-Oriental Cults
Luna	Jupiter Iuno Minerva (XI 1331) IOM (XI 1320, 1322, 1364?; AE 1976, 198, 328) <i>Iouis Victo[ris]</i> (XI 6943) Jupiter <i>Salutarius</i> (XI 6944) H(ercales) (1321; AE 1978, 00330) Hercules <i>Adiuto-</i> <i>rius</i> (1319) Lares (XI 1325, V 7739) Silva- nus (AE 1985, 391)	Jupiter Iuno Minerva (XI 1331) Fortuna (XI 1316–8) Bellona (XI 1315) Nymphae (AE 1980, 476)	<i>sexuir</i> (XI 6972) <i>Augustalis</i> (XI 1344, 6971) <i>flamen</i> (XI 1331, 1342, 1349a) <i>sacerdos</i> (XI 1335) <i>harus-</i> <i>pex</i> (XI 1355) <i>Augur</i> (XI 1326)		Jupiter Sabazius (XI 1323)
Genova & 'nvTAVIA	I.O.M. (V 7809) Silvano (Mennella 1989, n° 1)	Victoria (V 7809) Diana (V 7750) Fortuna Redux (AE 1976, 230)	<i>Flamen</i> (V 7373)		
Albingaunum	Iuppiter (<i>SupplIt</i> -4-A, 1)		<i>Flamen</i> (V 7783, 7788) <i>Flaminica</i> (V 7788; <i>Sup-</i> <i>pIt</i> -4-A, 7) <i>Augustalis</i> (V 7787) <i>Pontifex</i> (V 7783)	Matronae (<i>SupplIt</i> - 4-A, 2)	
Albintimilium Tavia	Apollo (V 7810) Aesculapius (<i>SupplIt</i> 10-A, 1) IOM (V 7809)	Victoria aeterna (V 7809) Iuno Regina (V 7811; <i>RII</i> 1960, 17f)	<i>Flamen</i> (<i>RII</i> 1960, 17f) <i>Flaminica</i> (V 7811, 7629) <i>sacerdos Lanuinus</i> (V 7814)		

was *flamen ciuitatis Vercellens(ium)* (CIL V 6494). Money was spent on local cults and on embellishing Novaria: acts of euergetism were only rivalled by Augusta Taurinorum, Mediolanum and Comum in the *regio XI* (v. *infra*). With local identity and autonomy being stressed, people from Novaria largely chose careers inside their *municipium*; equestrian status was rare compared with Vercellae (e.g. CIL V 6517, 6520, 6494), and Alföldy (1982, 357–8) associates not more than three members of senatorial rank from the *gens* Metilius with Novaria. Hardly anybody at Novaria publicises an imperial career: besides a small number of veterans, there is the obvious exception of Gaius Valerius Pansa, *primus pilus*, tribune, prefect and *flamen* who constructed a *balineum* at Novaria (CIL V 6513). Altogether, local identity and local achievement seem to have been more important at Novaria than Vercellae.

5.2 TOWARDS AN IMPERIAL SOCIETY

The concept of a local society or local élite associated with a particular ethnos, *ciuitas* or *municipium* was becoming increasingly void from the first century BC due to migration, municipalisation and enfranchisement. People participated in a web of social relations across Roman Italy, many had economic interests across regional boundaries or intermarried across ethnic and geographical distinctions. Since all *Transpadani* and Ligurians were Roman citizens, local people replaced their redundant ethnic identities with new ones. Individuals of all social strata aimed to demarcate themselves from other social groups. Altogether, people appear to have participated in a kind of imperial society, i.e. local hierarchies were realigned and refocussed on Rome. We have already seen the rôle of equestrian and senatorial families in *municipia* like Vercellae where the close relationship between powerful local élites and Rome also shaped the ambitions and aspirations of many local people, creating a sense of Roman identity, i.e. of belonging to the Roman empire and participating in it. Many social groups, colleges and guilds had a patron who was senator, *flamen* or a former military commander. The princeps was a figurehead at the top of the patronage hierarchy. Emperors, like Trajan, earned the title of *pater patriae* because he helped cities in need (*Aur. Vict. Caes.* 13.13). And the princeps's tribunician power also made him the guardians of the subaltern classes who set up statues and altars in his honour. As a result, a society developed that was closely intertwined and interconnected. We therefore need to examine people's connections beyond their local community.

An interesting case is Bodincomagus-Industria where certain élite families seem to have shaped the character of the small market town. Its typically Celtic toponym could indicate that this was a town of indigenous

origin that was strategically positioned in the late Iron Age at the confluence of the rivers Po and Dora Baltea (but perhaps only in the first century BC, though a Roman settlement was suggested as consequence of Fulvius Flaccus's activities in 123 BC); river transport must have been a key to the town's prosperity. Probably in the first century AD, the population discarded the Celtic name and the town was thenceforward called *Industria*; this change of name might correlate with the acquisition of a new legal status (*municipium* or *colonia* and *the autonomy*) (cf. Carducci *et al.* 1983).

From the epigraphic record, it seems that immigrant families were vital in the running of the community (cf. Cresci Marrone 1993). There were two *gentes* in particular, the *Auili* and *Lolli*, that seem to have been responsible for the Iseion-Serapeion that dominated this small market town (Figure 5.3): already at the end of the first century BC there was a temple for Isis, even though Augustus forbade Egyptian cults in Rome (28 and 21 BC, cf. Cass. Dio 53.2.4, 54.6.6). This may have been the reason why this Iseion was constructed at such a remote location as *Industria*. This sanctuary was later enlarged and subsequently rebuilt in a monumental way in the first half of the second century AD, resembling the 'Iseum Campense' at Rome with a separate temple dedicated to Serapis (cf. Mercado and Zanda 1998; Giorcelli Bersani and Roda 1999, 118–121). Such a monumental sanctuary is rare in Northwest Italy—and the choice of Egyptian deities even rarer. It may be explained



Figure 5.3 Air photo of the Iseion in Bodincomagus-*Industria*.¹

if we look at the history of the strong relationship of these two *gentes* with Greco-Oriental cults which can hardly be a coincidence. Among the *Auillii*, a certain Δεκμος Αυιλιος Μαρκο[υ] Πωμαιος made contributions in the sanctuary of the *dea Syria* at Delos as early as the second century BC *IDélos* 1523. 2628a III 34). At Rome in the early Principate, *C(aius) Auillius C(ai) f(ilius) Romilia (tribu) Ligurius Lucanus* is recorded as *sacerdos* of *Isis* (*CIL* VI 466 = *AE* 1974, 9; Rüpke 2008, 816, no. 902); his *origo* denotes a Ligurian origin, perhaps his residence at *Industria* (though the *tribus Romilia* is not attested in the Northwest). There was also Aulus Avilius Flaccus who not only had a powerful position in the imperial court, being tutor of the *Caesari* Lucius and Gaius, but he was also prefect of Egypt from AD 32 to 37 where he became acquainted with Greco-Egyptian cults; however, he was ordered back to Rome where he was exiled and eventually executed in AD 39 (*Philo in Flacc.* 19.158, 125.185 [pp. 149, 143, 153 Cohn]; cf. Hanslik 1979). This allegiance of parts of the *gens Avilius* with the Egyptian pantheon may be the context in which to understand the activities of members of the same *gens* in *Industria* (e.g. *CIL* V 7488; *AE* 1994, 638).

The strong relation of some branches of the *Lollii* to the Eastern pantheon is equally remarkable. *Lollii* are attested as Italic merchants in the Greek East, where a certain Μαρκος Λολλιος made a dedication to Serapis in 145/4 BC *IDélos* 1731.2.5; Cresci Marrone 1993), while another Lollius appears on a list of slave merchants in Rome, some of whom were priests of the Capitoline *Isis* in the first century BC (*ILS* 4405). And finally, a certain Lucius Lollius minted bronze coins with the image of the Egyptian god Ammon in his function of commander of the Antonine fleet stationed between Crete and Cyrenaica (Zorat 1993, 61). It is interesting to see how people took up opportunities: Lucius Lollius was commander in the East under Marc Antony, who was also governor of Cisalpine Gaul. And long before Avilius Flaccus became prefect of Egypt, another Avilius (which can hardly be a coincidence), Gaius Avilius Caimus Patavinus (i.e. from Patavium), was consolidating the Alpine passes under Augustus where he constructed the Roman bridge of Pondel in the Aosta Valley in 3 BC—certainly a situation during which he could take the opportunity to seize land and a position of authority in the region of *Industria*. In *Industria*, we find the *tribunus militum* and *flamen diui Caesar(i) perpetuo* Gaius Avilius Gaviano as the patron of the *municipium* (*CIL* V 7478; *SuppIt* 12, 1994, no. 6, early Principate after Cresci Marrone 1993; second century AD for Ritterling 1924–1925, 1530) and Gaius Avilius Optatus as *quattuoruir a(edilitia) p(otestatis)* (*CIL* V 7479). The freedmen of the *Lollii* are attested in the function of *seuiri* and *Augustales* and in the *collegium centonarum*, the ‘guild of textile dealers’ (*CIL* V 7485f).

This shows how individual choices can lead, in the long run, to an ever more ‘cosmopolitan’ culture, incorporating cultural elements from across the empire. This is not to deny that other religious choices in Bodincomagus-Industria were more ‘traditional’: Mars, Iuno, Minerva and Silvanus *conseruator* (cf. Chapter 5.5). But it also provides examples of intermarriage between families that unified dominant *gentes*, cutting across previous geographical and ethnic boundaries. The marriage between the *Cocceii* from Industria and the *Hedii* from Pollentia seems a representative example: Claudia Sextia Cocceia Severiana married Quintus Hedi^{us} Lollianus Plautius Avitus, the consul of AD 209, with the *cognomen* of the groom, Lollianus, suggesting the adoption by the *Lollia* of Industria (*PIR*² C, 1123; *ibid.* H, 36). Moreover, inscriptions document the gradual rise of the *Cocceii* from municipal élite to senator starting with Gaius Cocceius and his son Salvius Cocceius (*AE* 1994, 642). The apparently Latin *gentilicium* Cocceius/Coccius strongly resembles Celtic names, like Coccus, Cocceiacus and Cocidius which makes possible a ‘deckname’ (cf. Celtic *coccus*, ‘red’: Delamarre 2003, 120; Holder I 1056–7). In the early second century AD, Marcus Cocceius Severus acquired equestrian status, and Sextus Cocceius Severianus Honorinus even joined the senatorial ranks as *consul suffragationis* in AD 147 followed by the proconsulship of Africa in AD 162/163 (*CIL* V 7159; *PIR*² C, 1230. 1218; Alföldy 1982, 323).

In addition, élites relied heavily on external bonds and held magistracies in more than one community (suggesting that they owned land in these *ciuitates*). Status and *auctoritas* had thus become independent from local concepts of authority, like the individual’s capacity to mobilise followers. For example, Publius Metellus was decurion of the two colonies Augusta Taurinorum and Eporedia; he was *quaestor* in the former and reached the duumvirate at Eporedia (*CIL* V 6955; also cf. *CIL* V 7016, 7033). Similarly, Marcus Aponius Restitutus was *seuir* at Eporedia, like his father, but at Bodincomagus-Industria he reached the aedilship and even became *duumvir* (*SuppIt* 12. In, 7) or the freedman Titus Aebutius Leona, (*se*)uir(o) et Aug(ustali) Karrei et Industriae (*CIL* V 7496). Similarly, Castricius, *magister Augustalis* of Pollentia and Augusta Bagiennorum (*CIL* V 7604, Alba Pompeia) and Lucius Cantius Martianus, decurion in Hasta and Aquileia (*CIL* V 7563) show the high degree of mobility within local élites. At just 24 years of age, the equestrian Gaius Marius Iulianus was already *flamen* at Dertona, having benefited from his father’s position which included the decurioniate at Genua, the quattuorvirate at Vercellae and the duumvirate at Dertona; as a powerful person, he was chosen as *flamen* of all three places (*CIL* V 7373).

Considering the importance of equestrian and senatorial statuses and the rôle of a *flamen* during the Principate, a mere civic magistracy might

have been seen *ob honoris causa* for the more powerful élites. We can also assume that a local *ordo* chose their magistracies and *flamines* among the influential and powerful dignitaries of the region; this allowed a local community to tap into the resources and patronage links of powerful élites (cf. Haeussler 2008b). The wealth and power of their senatorial or equestrian rank made them ideal candidates for the post of *patronus* of a local *municipium* or colony, while Roman warfare and the proximity to the emperor demonstrated to what extent *auctoritas* and status acquired in the imperial hierarchy must have weighted more than local achievements from the late first century BC onwards, as we have already seen *supra* in the case of veterans holding important civic offices.

This confirms our assumption from Chapter 1.2 that supra-regional hierarchies and relationships outside the local community were becoming increasingly important in Roman Italy, a process that must have been stimulated by the block grant of Roman citizenship. This affected many people, but élites in particular. And as their interests were no longer limited to a single *ciuitas*, we can expect local identities and local cults to lose particularities. As imperial connections became increasingly important, a large proportion of the inscriptions attest people associated with the Roman army, the emperor and Roman administration. Among the top aristocracy in Northwest Italy, life and career focussed on imperial administration and not home community, as in the case of Gaius Stertinius Maximus from Hasta (CIL V 7557): a Greek inscription from Samos records him as *consul suffragationis* (IG IV 1724; Alföldy 1982, 323; Giorcelli Bersani 1994, 59; Seneca *Controv.* III(9).36). And among the many senators and *equites* from Alba Pompeia, the most prominent citizen must have been Publius Elvius Pertinax who was emperor from 31 December 192 to 28 March 193. Cassius Dio's pejorative use of the *ethnos Ligure*, still in the second century AD, seems surprising: 'Ligurian from Alba Pompeia, born from a non-noble father' (Cass. Dio 73.3.1; *SHA Pert.* I 4).

Compared with other Cisalpine cities like Verona, Patavium or Brixia, each with 44, 20 and 39 members of senatorial rank respectively (Alföldy 1982), the number of senators in the Northwest appears relatively low. Yet it is significant that we find senators and equestrians in virtually every major city in our area of study (Table 5.3), reflecting the close bonds between Rome and the local *ciuitates*. By comparison, Strabo (5.1.7) cites the Roman census under Augustus listing 500 equestrians at Patavium. The wealth and power of such prominent élites must imply that inner-élite competition had to take place in a system of Roman values. In addition, upward social mobility intensified the competition for status within imperial structures. Social advancement is recorded quite frequently, for example from equestrian to senatorial status as in the case

Table 5.3 *Equites* and senators in Northwest Italy: there are also those undergoing an equestrian or senatorial career, for example as *tribunus militum* (cf. Table 4.4)

Members of Senatorial and Equestrian Order		
<i>Municipium/Ciuitas</i>	Senatorial (after Alföldy 1982)	Equestrian (after epigraphic record)
Novaria	4	4
Vercellae	8	3
Bodincomagus/Industria	–	1
Eporedia	1	–
Augusta Praetoria	–	–
Augusta Taurinorum	3	5
Segusio (Alpes Cottiae)	–	–
Carreum/Potentia	–	–
Pollentia	1	–
Augusta Bagiennorum	–	–
Alba Pompeia	6	1
Hasta	4	2
Forum Fulvii and Valentia	–	1
Vardagate	–	1
Dertona	1	4
Aquae Statiellae	–	–
Libarna	4	–
Genua	–	–
Albintimilium	2	1
Albingaunum	4	2
Vada Sabatia	1	–
Luna	2	1

of senator Quintus Glitius Atilius Agricola, to whom numerous dedications and monuments were put up in his honour at Augusta Taurinorum (*CIL* V 6974–6986; *ILS* 1021), but who was the son of an equestrian (*CIL* V 6969). We can expect that these élites tried to demarcate themselves from municipal élites by their lifestyle, actions and representations through their direct knowledge of *Romanitas*.

5.3 URBANISM AND *HUMANITAS*

With growing interaction across Italy, local élites participated in an imperial discourse of power and the ‘benefits’ of the Roman empire and in an increasingly ‘global’ discourse on culture in which a range of mythologies, histories, lifestyles, élite behaviour and patterns of consumption became widely known. Compared to the late Republic, these models and discourses guided people’s behaviour and their understanding to such an extent that they experimented less with new forms of status display.

In the Principate, the individual was faced with an enormous cultural diversity, but in certain fields, notably the public arena, many people made decisions that fitted the appropriate behavioural model.

For local élites across Cisalpine Gaul, urbanism became an important scene for élite performance and status display. This was a bilateral development. On the one hand, urbanism provided the setting for a particular lifestyle, inter-élite competition and power display, and this setting also created incentives for élite activities. On the other hand, local élites were largely responsible for constantly embellishing and monumentalising their towns. With cities competing with each other in urban magnificence, a large proportion of the population participated in this competition for local pride. This monumentalisation was less due to imperial funding, but to local councils, patrons and philanthropists (cf. Frézouls 1990, 179; Horster 1997). Following the example of the princeps, they attempted to create cities of marble with all the amenities of their time. A particular élite activity was euergetism—one element associated with *humanitas*, by which individuals distributed part of their wealth for the good of the collective (cf. Veyne 1976; Lomas [ed] 2003). It is in the nature of euergetism that we are usually well-informed about the person who spent the money, but badly informed on what the money was spent for since inscriptions were often attached to the building or monument in question: texts frequently refer to *hoc opus* or *de suo faciendum curauit*, like the dedication to the *pagani* Agamini from Sizzano (Novara): *ex quorum red[itu] hoc opus factum [est]* (CIL V 6587; cf. Frézouls 1990, 184, n.19). At Novaria, for example, a certain Gaius Valerius Pansa—an equestrian and *primus pilus* that made a career in imperial administration—spent 200,000 sesterces for baths (*balineum*)

C(aius) Valerius C(ai) f(ilius) Claud(ia) Pansa flamen | diuorum Vespasiani Traiani Hadrian(i) p(rimus) p(ilus) bis | trib(unus) coh(ortis) VIII pr(aetoriae) proc(urator) Aug(usti) prouinc(iae) Britanniae | balineum quod ui consumptum fuerat ampliatis solo | et operibus intra biennium pecunia sua restituit et dedicauit | in quod opus legata quoque rei p(ublicae) testamento Albuciae Candidae | uxoris suae HS CC consensu ordinis amplius erogauit.

(CIL V 6513)

Baths—both public and private—were characteristic of this ‘bon code de la romanisation’, as Frézouls (1990) called it. People did not just *imitate* constructions at Rome. Baths, for example, also reflected a particular lifestyle associated with Roman views on the healing benefits of water and the baths as venue for socialising. Besides Novaria, we also find building inscriptions for baths in Forum Germa and Albintimilium (cf. Lamboglia and Pallarés 1985, 67–81; Pellegrino 1989); at Aquae Statiellae, Lucius Ulattius and Lucius Valerius built *cameras*

pauimenta tect[a] for the public baths (*SuppIt* 25.AS, 9 = AE 1900, 117). Archaeologically, we can expect to find public baths in most towns both in Liguria and the Transpadana, as for example in Aquae Statiellae, Augusta Taurinorum, Augusta Bagiennorum, Augusta Praetoria, Pedona, Segusio, Albintimilium, Vercellae and perhaps at Albingaunum (Cavaliere Manasse *et al.* 1982, 24; 32; 62; 103f; 194; 216; Molli Boffa 1994; Chrzanovski 2006: 60f, 331f). A *schola* (guild building) is attested for Novaria (*CIL* V 6525) and Luna (Cavaliere Manasse *et al.* 1982, 163); a magistrate of Eporedia erected a *ponderarium*, presumably at Victumulae (Dorzano: *CIL* V 6771). As at Segusio, an *arcus* was erected at Laumellum in a region whose late Iron Age cemeteries dominated our discussion on the first century BC (*CIL* V 6373); another possible arch at Pedona (*CIL* V 7851 = *SuppIt* 13.P, 1).

Other instances of euergetism include *ornamenta* (*CIL* V 8893; AE 1976, 264), *[marmo]ribus et sta[t]uis adornavit* (*CIL* V 6967), *adiectis ornamentis et cortina* (ILS 3192) and *porticus et ornamentis* for the theatre of Augusta Taurinorum (*v. infra*). At Augusta Taurinorum, a large number of inscriptions demonstrate euergetism (*CIL* V 6955, 6965–6968, 7002; AE 1976, 64), such as constructions built *in praesidium coloniae* (*CIL* V 7002) or gold dragons (*CIL* V 6965; cf. ILS 3192 from Mediolanum). Euergetism is also attested at Eporedia (*CIL* V 6771), Vercellae (*CIL* V 6668), Albingaunum (*CIL* V 7783) and Caburum (*CIL* V 7345). With the exception of the Serapis and Isis sanctuary of Industria, temples are not explicitly attested (except for the [*. . . cella?*] *templi* [*. . . uetustate*] *collapsam* [*. . . refecit*] at Pedona, *CIL* V 7851 = *SuppIt* 13.P, 1). *Aedicula* (*CIL* V 6966), *arae* (*CIL* V 6968) and statue bases (*CIL* V 6965f) are the only indicators of religious piety. As in other parts of Roman Gaul, élite investment in cults may indicate the attempt of dynastic families to control the *populus* by involving them in common cult activities, especially in a rural context (cf. Haeussler 2008b).

Many *euergetes* are of indigenous origin, as in this building inscription by descendants of King Donnus and Cottius from the theatre of Augusta Taurinorum:

[C(aius) Iulius Cotti f(ilius) D]onni reg[is n(epos) Donnus] praef(ectus)
[ci]u[ritatium omnium quibus pa]ter eius praefuit |
[M(arcus?) Iulius Donni f(ilius) C]otti. n(epos) [Cottius port]icum cum
[omnibus ornamentis et do]mus dederunt.

(Letta 1976, 65; Mennella 1978, Letta 1994, AE 1994, 753)

The participation of the *Cottii* at Augusta Taurinorum must reflect an attempt to expand their power base into the economically and politically important Roman colony (also cf. AE 1998, 637 from Turin: *M(arco)*

Iulio Cotti f(ilio) Cottio | Q(uintus) Veditus Lentulus). Was this investment motivated by mere *humanitas* and philanthropy or by the intentional desire to consolidate one's social standing through the support of entertainment buildings that pleased the local *plebs*?

Considering the intense participation of local aristocracies in Roman society, politics and the army, it may come as no surprise that the philanthropic initiative of Cisalpine Gaul is 'à l'échelle la plus haute connue en Occident', with 1.3% of all inscriptions of *regio XI* belonging to this category and mainly dating to the imperial period (Frézouls 1990, 182). This appears lower compared to the *Tres Galliae* (2%) and Upper Germany (3%), but this can be explained by the strong focus on religious dedications in these provinces. But the question is what motivated local élites to invest so much of their private fortune for public buildings and amenities? This is a new form of status display which did not exist in the Iron Age. In pre-Roman times the wealth of local élites was also important, but it was probably largely redistributed to individuals, for example in social transactions to create allegiances. But in Roman times, many people could acquire wealth. It is therefore possible that the wealthiest élites were looking for new opportunities to display their power in a way which was more exclusive and not open to all élites. Funding building work, for example, was a way to show their power, their *humanitas* and *philanthropia* as well as to physically manifest a person in the urban landscape for posterity, claiming possession of the landscape. We can recognise financial investments that could not be rivalled by many other people. In Northwest Italy, many *euergetes* belonged to the local decurions (e.g., *CIL* V 6771, 6955; Pais 747; *ILS* 3192), but the more prestigious and expensive projects were the domain of senators and equestrians (e.g. *CIL* V 6510, 6513 [*procurator*], V 7002 [*flamen* and *praefectus equitum alae*], etc.). For example, elaborate projects include the 200,000 sesterces for the baths at Novaria which rival Pliny's expenses at Comum: 200,000 sesterces for the *tutela* of the baths, 100,000 for the library and 300,000 for the *ornatus* of the baths (Frézouls 1990, 201).

Veyne (1976) considered *euergetism* to be the kind of free 'donation' to society that was appropriate to the status of a Roman aristocrat. It may also have been morally 'obligatory', being motivated by behavioural models that were typical of Greco-Roman élites—and Augustus's activities were clearly setting important *exempla*. But we also should not underestimate the importance of reciprocity for the societies of the *Imperium Romanum*. Also in other ancient societies we find comparable forms of *euergetism*. The élite's rôle in ceremonial events and the need for wealth redistribution, for example by feasting, can also be seen in the Inca empire (De Marrais *et al.* 1996, 27–8); similarly the 'euergetism' in the Vijayanagara capital between the fourteenth and sixteenth

centuries (cf. Morrison and Lycett 1994; Sinopoli and Morrison 1995, 86). It was a way to create a stable society by balancing out unequal access to resources. In some instances, the Roman state even enforced such forms of redistribution, for example through the orphan schemes (like Trajan's scheme at Veleia, *v. infra*) or enforcing the *munera* of local office-holders (cf. Drecolli 1997; Bispham 2007, 15): this can be seen in the *lex coloniae Genetivae Iulia* where the minimum amount of money to be spent on spectacles by newly appointed *duumviri* was stipulated as 'no less than 2,000 sesterces' (§§ 70–71; Gabba and Crawford 1996, 429–30, 449). In this way, elite generosity could be used to create a sense of reciprocity between elites and commoners (cf. Morrison and Lycett 1994). Moreover, elites could demonstrate their wealth and structure social relations horizontally between elites and vertically with their 'subjects' and 'clients'.

In Cisalpine Gaul, euergetism was also a medium to communicate and involve the 'urban masses'. Ceremonies, festivals, games and theatre can be all considered as important rituals 'in the creation and maintenance of legitimacy and power' (Moore 1996, 798; cf. Geertz's (1980) theatre-state). Such festivals served to consolidate the authority of both Rome and the local elites. Rome seems to have shown a particular interest in defining social groups and the public display of social status. For example, theatres mirrored the social order since seats were assigned according to status (cf. Rawson 1987): Urso's *lex coloniae Genetivae* assigns no less than three paragraphs to this issue (§§ 125–27): the most prominent seats in the orchestra were reserved not only for the decurions, but especially for imperial officials, such as *legati* or *praefecti fabri* (Gabba and Crawford 1996, 429–30). In Northwest Italy, most theatres were constructed during the first century AD, amphitheatres in the second century (cf. Maggi 1987). Having been predominantly financed by local people, it shows to what extent local decurions bought into Roman lifestyle and ideology: these 'entertainment venues' symbolised local hierarchies, allowed participation of the local *populus* and also served as a venue to communicate new ideas.

Unlike other forms of elite investment—for example in rural shrines—euergetism usually went beyond one's immediate client group. Above all, it was a cultural choice of an educated elite, whose 'philanthropy' was a symbol of their *humanitas*, while choice of architecture and buildings reflected on their wealth, know-how and influence. Indeed, urbanisation of the local *caput ciuitatis* usually occupied the mind and energy of several generations to construct the monumental core with forum, capitolium, theatre and public baths which defined the Roman city (cf. e.g. Bedon *et al.* 1988 for list of dated monuments in Transalpine Gaul up to the third century AD; Frézouls 1990 for epigraphy). In this

respect, a Roman town was not just a large agglomeration, but a particular form of urbanism with specific places that defined urban lifestyle. The incentive of ‘civilisation’ (*humanitas*) in the Principate motivated élites to promote urban magnificence (cf. Woolf 1998, 126). Tacitus, for example, related the construction of temples, *fora*, *domus* and towns with Roman *humanitas* (*Agr.* 21), while Strabo (4.1.11) recounts that the Allobroges were now ‘civilized’ and lived in the town of Vienne. Vergil experienced himself the radically changing society of Cisalpine Gaul in the first century BC and in his *Aeneid*, he provides a vivid image of the foundation of Rome (1.421–463; translation John Dryden):

(. . .) The prince with wonder sees the stately tow’rs,
Which late were huts and shepherds’ homely bow’rs,
The gates and streets; and hears, from ev’ry part,
The noise and busy concourse of the mart. (. . .)
Some laws ordain; and some attend the choice
Of holy senates, and elect by voice.
Here some design a mole, while others there
Lay deep foundations for a theater;
From marble quarries mighty columns hew,
For ornaments of scenes, and future view. (. . .)
Sidonian Dido here with solemn state
Did Juno’s temple build, and consecrate,
Enrich’d with gifts, and with a golden shrine;
But more the goddess made the place divine.
(. . .) Admir’d the fortune of the rising town,
The striving artists, and their arts’ renown; (. . .).

Vergil’s influence on contemporaries cannot escape our attention, urbanism is associated with civilised people and a moral society; this is also demonstrated in art and architecture, like the honorary arch of Glanum (*v. supra*). And at the peak of this development stands the Greek orator Aelius Aristeides in the second century AD, when he praised the Roman achievement (cf. Pernot 2008):

Were there ever so many cities, inland and maritime? Were they ever so thoroughly modernised? (. . .) Every place is full of gymnasias, fountains, gateways, temples, shops and schools (. . .).
(Aelius Aristeides, *To Rome* 93, 97)

5.4 RURAL ‘ROMANITAS’?

While the town may be the obvious scene for élite activities in the early Principate, the rural areas—however remote from the nearest town—were no cultural backwaters. Local decurions consisted of large landowners

with a residence in the countryside where they assembled their tenants and clients, acted as powerful patrons and promoted rural cult centres. We have to take into account that not many people were able to acquire one of the few powerful municipal or imperial magistracies. The rural context might therefore have provided an alternative to exercise and consolidate élite authority. As location for the family's mausoleum, for example, élites might equally chose a tomb in one of the urban necropoleis. But on the rural family estate, a mausoleum or funerary *stele* in a prominent geographical location could have been a means of physically manifesting the power of a family over land and people. Since we are dealing with the same élites in the town as in the countryside, we can expect these people to employ largely the same values, norms, media and cultural models in a rural context as in the urban context (cf. Millett 1990, 92). But we should also expect elements of 'code-switching', i.e. using a cultural language appropriate for the rural context or adapting one's actions to the sociocultural cognitions of the rural *populus*.

In this section, we focus on the rôle of élite culture in the countryside. At the current stage of research, the number of villas in Northwest Italy is extremely limited. To localise rural residences, we therefore have to rely largely on the epigraphic record, like the geographical distribution of high-status epitaphs and dedications. In the case of Vercellae, the *Valerii* seem to have had their rural residence at Albano, the *Erennii* at Trino, the *Clodii* at Bianzè and Santià and the *Vibii* perhaps at Ghemme (*v. supra*). The hilly Monferrato region is a residential area for élites who were attracted to the location for the wine growing, the scenic countryside and the better climate compared to the humid plains of the Po Valley as well as for easy access to a number of neighbouring cities like Hasta, Industria, Augusta Taurinorum and Carreum-Potentia (Figure 5.4). In the Monferrato, we find among others the consul Quintus Tullius Tiberius Claudius Publius Quintilius at Moncucco (*CIL* V 7465), the *flamen diui Vespasiani* Caius Hirpidius Memorus at Castello Casasco (*CIL* V 7458), the *procurator IIII publicorum Africae* Lucius Caninius Valens at Roccaverano (*CIL* V 7547), the imperial legate Ducenius at Quadringenti (*CIL* V 7447), the *magister Minerualis* Gaius Fulvius Philologus at Ponengo (*CIL* V 7462), the *Licinii* at Spigno Monferrato, *aedil, quaestor* and *centurio legionis* (*CIL* V 7544), the *duumvir* Sulpicius at Salsominore (*AE* 1992, 630) and the decurion Lucius Castricius at Silvano d'Orba (*AE* 1951, 239). We also find numerous *seuiri Augustales*, such as Silucius at Costigliole d'Asti (*SuppIt* 10.H, 6), Sulpicius at Moncalvo (*CIL* V 7455) and Popilius at Moncucco (*CIL* V 7465) as well as the two freedmen, Sertorius Tullus and Sertorius Largus, at Spigno Monferrato (*CIL* V 7545) and the *IIIIIIuir Bodincomagensis*, Titus Lollius Masculus, at Odalengo Monferrato (*CIL* V 7464; *AE* 2007, 564).

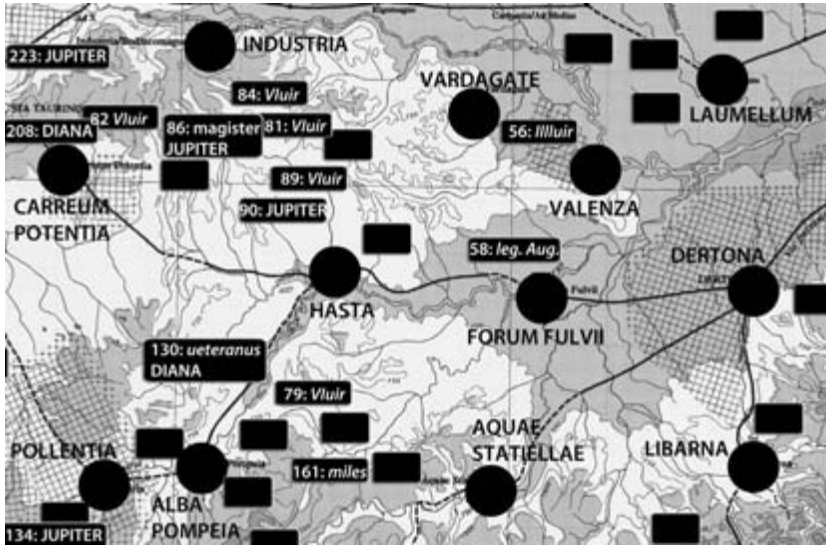


Figure 5.4 Distribution map of inscriptions discovered in the Monferrato, indicating the residences of local élites (map: author).¹

The Monferrato appears to have been a very active rural scene with consuls, magistrates, freedmen, priests and veterans and probably some ‘nouveaux riches’, like merchants and entrepreneurs who bought land here. Together they could display a wide variety of élite lifestyles together with Roman-style architecture and epigraphy. Of course, one could assume that many of these upper class families already had a residence here in pre-Roman times, though we should not underestimate the extent of relocation. Even if we assume that we are dealing with the same élites and that their power base had remained the same in terms of revenue and clients, people would have acted in a different environment and with new forms of ideologies and media to reinforce rural social structure, adopting aspects of Roman lifestyle and gradually integrating the rural population into municipal structures.

There were also important economic changes for the rural population. To supply the many towns, it was necessary to significantly increase the agricultural surplus. In addition, we find new production areas, like the numerous pottery kilns (for example at Bellinzago in the Novarese) or wine making in the Apennines and the Monferrato—perhaps indicating a niche production for small independent farmers, but more likely to primarily serve the conspicuous lifestyle of the urban élite and their investment in monumental architecture, festivals and celebrations.

This leads us to the villa as a traditional socioeconomic node in a Roman landscape. In the first century BC, the Romans had created a largely

centuriated landscape, and one might expect that the villa was at the centre of the economic system, perhaps even imposing a ‘slave mode of production’. But as we shall see, this was not the case. In this context, the term villa refers to the sumptuous élite residences, usually with some agricultural function and not just to any farmstead of the Roman period (cf. Haeussler 2008b, 162–3). These villas could have various designs. The villa of Portovenere (Varignano Vecchio), for instance, is a typical example constructed in the first century BC and AD (Figure 5.5; cf. Bertino 1990; Gervasini and Landi 2001–2002), similar to other contemporary villas in Italy. The residential part (so-called *pars urbana*) was situated in the northern section of a large open space, in part surrounded by porticoes. There, we find the living quarters around two *atria* with stone columns, a large *tablinum* and the baths; the latter were constructed in the first century AD. Polychrome mosaics and a marble statue of Hygeia demonstrate the wealth of the owners. At the beginning

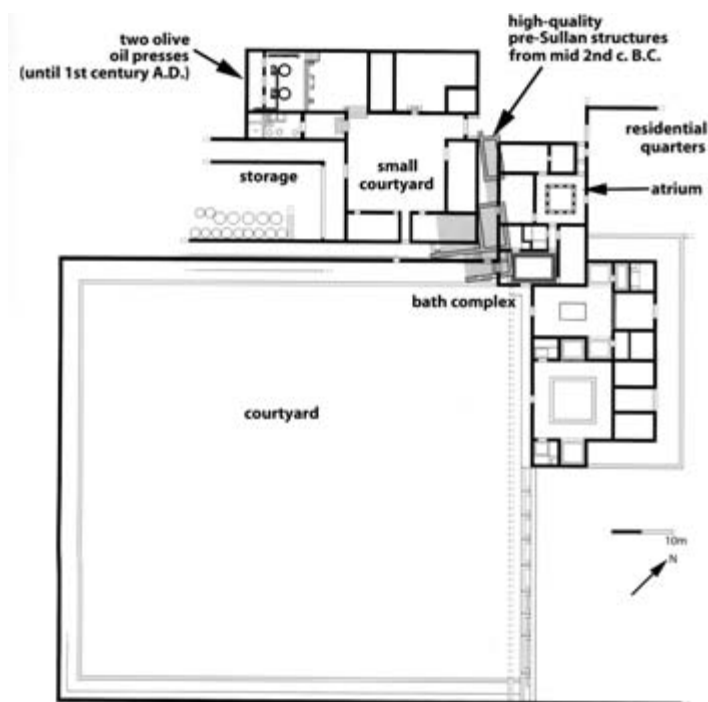


Figure 5.5 Villa of Varignano Vecchio (Portovenere, La Spezia) near Luna overlooking the Mediterranean Sea. It is one of the earliest villas in our area of study: the first phase started in the mid-second century BC, but the villa was substantially enlarged in the first century BC, while agricultural production ceased in the first century AD (map: author, after Gervasini and Landi (2001–2002)).

there was also some agricultural production; olive oil was produced on an almost industrial scale, but this seems to have stopped in the first century AD. *Tablinum* and *triclinium*, baths, *hypocaustum*, mosaics, columns, *atria* and peristyles were characteristic of the lifestyle in these élite residences. Even if we do not have the complete plan of a ‘villa’, we often find typical villa elements, such as a relief with gladiator design from Grugliasco (Turin) (Crosetto *et al.* 1981, 392, no. 5), a black and white mosaic from Milanere (Turin) (Crosetto *et al.* 1981, 390, no. 47), reliefs, mosaics and columns from Novalese (Crosetto *et al.* 1981, 408, no. 73), and wallpaintings from the suburban villa from Ivrea (Desplace 1987). The villa with its reception rooms are an important key for our understanding: they were a place to impress and intimidate one’s *clientes* as well as a reflection of the owner’s self-identity and the lifestyle he/she aspired to.

The Roman-style villa has been at the centre of many provincial ‘Romanisation’ studies (e.g. Hingley 1989; 1997, 95–6; Millett 1990; Slofstra 1995; Mattingly 2006). But we have to bear in mind that villa architecture was not homogenous and that the presence of a villa does not indicate a particular form of economic exploitation, except for the need for surplus production to finance conspicuous consumption; however, the location of a villa does not indicate where the surplus was produced since properties may have been spread across several *ciuitates* or even provinces. Instead, we have to focus on local particularities, some of which may have their roots in pre-Roman times. Slofstra (1995), for example, argued that the villas in Lower Germany provided a privileged space to receive clients or vassals with local social relations being inserted in the wider imperial hierarchy, while preserving local social characteristics considering the fairly stable number of élite residences between late Iron Age and Principate. Similarly in other Western provinces, the distribution of villas strongly correlates with the distribution of late Iron Age warrior graves, suggesting a certain continuity of élite residences and, thus, a primarily indigenous élite that acquired new forms of status display and lifestyle (cf. Haeussler 1993 [1994]). Hereby, people do not just copy Italian villa-types, but particular villa architecture is developed that is typical for a particular region. In Northwest Italy, a number of Iron Age sites were transformed into Roman-style villas in the first century AD, such as Caselletto (Figure 5.6; “Wataghin” *et al.* 1980; Cavalieri Manasse *et al.* 1982, 55–6.) and Almese (Wataghin Cantino 1995). In other cases, we can recognise site continuity, but we lack Roman-style villas: Borgovercelli, for example, must have been the residence of a *quattuoruir* from Vercellae (ILV 97) near an Iron Age settlement of the third and second centuries BC (cf. Gambari 1985a). Similarly at Biandrate, an Iron Age necropolis was preceded by a Roman rural settlement (first



Figure 5.6 Villa Romana of Caselette, west of Turin (first and second centuries AD).¹

century BC–third century AD) associated with people of equestrian status (cf. Spagnolo Garzoli 1984a; 1985). The recent excavations of a rural settlement at Greggio (Vercelli) show that the first occupation consisted of wooden buildings in the first century BC. This reflects a period of increasing agricultural exploitation, perhaps stimulated by the grant of Latin rights and the urbanisation of nearby Vercellae and Novaria. This is followed by stone constructions in the Augustan period—but no ‘villa’—and subsequent expansion relating to a major reorganisation of the landscape (Ambrosini and Ruffa 2007).

The villa in Northwest Italy was above all a cultural choice. The futility of the concept of a villa economy is evident when we examine the transformation of settlement structures in the late Republic. Northwest Italy had already been participating in the Roman economy for generations without developing a villa landscape and villas remained comparatively rare throughout the Principate despite the strong presence of élites in rural areas. Recent field surveys for the neighbouring Narbonensis, especially in the area between the colonies Béziers and Nîmes, document the rising number of rural habitats and agricultural workshops between the second and first centuries BC, while the appearance of the residential villa-type as a display of wealth hardly happened before the first century AD (cf. Bermond and Pellecuer 1997; Favory *et al.* 1994, 1998). In other words, economic and agricultural developments are separate from cultural choices. In Northern Italy, Southern

France and Spain, the widespread change from 'farmstead' to 'villa' usually took place in the early first century AD. We also need to study the location of villas. In Liguria, they were primarily located along the scenic Ligurian coastline, chosen for the good infrastructure and the view over the Mediterranean. Besides Portovenere (Varignano), there are villas at Ameglia, Sanremo and perhaps Bussana, while a large villa with *thermae*, *hypocaustum* and two peristyls at Alba Docilia (Albisola) could also have been a *mansio* (Tinè Bertocchi; 1971). Obviously, agricultural production along the narrow stretch of the Ligurian coast was very limited, and these villas were hardly located at the centre of a large. Nor is local agricultural production sufficient to finance the opulence of some of these villas and the lifestyle of their owners. Instead, the owner's income probably relied on land-holding and production in internal Liguria, especially with élites who had economic interests across Italy as we have seen above. The complexity of combining revenue, consumption and power in one place is perhaps most evident in the case of the *Domitii* from Arles in the Narbonensis who had residences and economic interests throughout Provence (Burnand 1975). But we must also be aware that the élites in Northwest Italy made different decisions than their counterparts in Gaul, Germany and Britain.

Similarly, north of the Apennines, villas were generally a development of the early Principate. In the current state of archaeological research, they largely concentrate in the Aosta Valley (Mollo Mezzena 1975) and the road from Augusta Taurinorum to the Alpine pass near Susa, like the first-century AD villas of Casellette and Almese (Wataghin Cantino *et al.* 1980; Wataghin Cantino 1995). At Saint-Vincent (Aosta), Roman baths of the second and third centuries AD show once more the cultural weight of the élite code of appropriate behaviour. A *domus rustica* (or 'farm') might also be identified at Carpignano Sesia near Briona and Novaria (Spagnolo Garzoli 1984b). The distribution pattern is very interesting since we find hardly any villas in the fertile, heavily centuriated river plains of the Po, Tanaro and Ticino where much of the agricultural surplus was produced. For example, at the margin of the centuriated area, at Costiglione Saluzzo (Cuneo), recent excavations have revealed a large rectangular building (late first century BC–fourth century AD): though superficially looking like a 'villa', we find a series of rooms of residential, agricultural and artisan vocation built in a wide variety of construction techniques, suggesting a complex rural settlement, but not a residential élite villa (Elia and Meirano 2008). Another recently excavated rural site at Brandizzo (Turin) was no residential villa, but a so-called *villa rustica* (Barello and La Spada 2004): it was a large farm building of the first, second and third centuries AD and aligned with the centuriation grid,

specialising in the production and storage of cereals and their shipping on the adjacent river Po.

Also in neighbouring Etruria, villas primarily focussed on the coastal plains, while customary types of local habitation—including traditional types of material culture—persisted in the hinterland (cf. Terrenato 1998b). As we shall also see in Chapters 5.4 and 5.6, there were many rural farms, villages and cemeteries in Northwest Italy where Celtic onomastics and material culture, similar to the Iron Age, persisted for many generations in the Principate despite extensive centuriation.

The relative rarity of villas in Northwest Italy could also suggest that social relations remained largely embedded in previous sociocultural understandings. Many inscriptions of decurions, equestrians and senators in a rural context reflect the same conventions as in an urban context, but there are some notable exceptions. As prime example for what Mennella (1983, 25) interpreted as loyalty to traditional values among the Bagienni is the inscription *[E]nicus Roucarius Dissi f(ilius) decurio* (Figure 5.7; cf. Roda 1982, 203; AE 1981, 375 with the reading *Nicus Roncarius/Roucarius*).

The stone and style of text seemingly contradicts Enicus's function as decurion within the Roman-citizen *municipium* of Pollentia: the *cognomen*



Figure 5.7 The *pietre fluviale* of *[E]nicus Roucarius Dissi f(ilius) decurio* from Pollentia (Roda 1982, 203; Mennella 1983, 25).¹

is placed in the position of a *praenomen* and the *gentilicium* is followed by a Celtic-style filiation. The names are indigenous (cf. Delamarre 2003, 162, 262), and Enicus is particularly common in this area (e.g. Enicus at Forum Germa, *CIL* V 7845 and Pollentia, *CIL* V 7641; Enicius at Pedito, *CIL* V 7850). For Mennella (1983, 25), a 'comune pietra di fiume' ('river stone') simply is not a monument suitable for Enicus's rank and his economic resources (equally Bernardini 2004, 50). But this was no cultural resistance to 'Romanisation'. Instead, Enicus's choice of language and title can be compared with Akisios's bilingual inscription from Vercellae. As decurion, Enicus participated in Roman-style municipal structures. This raises the question of whom such an inscription was aimed at. There is no precise dating (Bernardini 2004 suggests AD 1–50), but on stylistic grounds inscriptions of this kind need not belong to the first phase of municipalisation and urban epigraphy. We could suggest that Enicus's use of epigraphy was innovative: he introduced monumental writing in a rural environment. A primarily urban medium, used for social representation and manifestation for posterity, was rendered *legible* and *meaningful* for indigenous perceptions and rationalities. The use of river stones has to be seen against the background of possible Iron Age forms of social representation, such as the Lunigiana *stelai* in Liguria and comparable Bronze Age *stelai* from Piedmont (cf. Ambrosi 1972, 1992; Fedele [ed] 1990). In this context, Enicus's monument would no longer appear as a poor man's version since already the effort to move such a stone to the chosen location reflects significant control over people and the colossal effort to carve it is absolutely tremendous compared with marble or sandstone. Location and form might have had more meaning and impact than a row of standardised, decorated marble inscriptions in a necropolis. A comparable river stone is that of *Mocus Caranius Neuif(i)lius Pol(lia tribus)* from Centallo (*CIL* V 7656).

In this respect, some of these *pietre fluviali* must have been focus points on the landscape claiming possession over land and people of the Bagienni. This shows people's capacity to modify Roman forms in order to suit indigenous cognition. People may have participated in a Roman-style town, but in a rural context they could adapt these media and use them to communicate élite messages and consolidate their authority. At the same time, Enicus clearly associated himself with the title *decurio* and the voting-tribe of a Roman citizen, indicating his rank of authority and his self-identity within municipal structures, despite the rather spontaneous and original epigraphic form of the river stone.

To summarise, we can recognise a rather dynamic picture of the countryside in the Principate. It was a very active rural scene with élites (magistrates, decurions), veterans and *liberti* being the most visible people: the ones who made the most use of epigraphy. With the urban nucleus

and the rural *territorium* constituting a unit in the concept of a Roman *ciuitas*, the municipal élites resided in the countryside where they spread a certain concept of lifestyle: they indulged in their affluency, received their clients, freed household slaves and sponsored rural cult centres. Despite the rarity of residential villas, epigraphy reveals the names of many important élite families who displayed their status and authority in a rural context. Burial grounds—and the impressive funerary *stelae* and *mausolea*—were often chosen, in the words of Snodgrass (1998, 40), for their ‘conspicuousness or territorial significance, rather than as a token of ownership’. Cases like Enicus or Caranius also show that people did not just introduce urban-style epigraphy (or art and architecture), but that they were capable to adapt it to suit local cultural rationalities.

And despite the staggering extent of urbanisation and colonisation in the first century BC, there is also an enormous extent of site continuity between the late Iron Age and the Principate: not only the many La Tène cemeteries and settlements (e.g. Oleggio, Gravellona Toce, Biandrate, Borgosesia, Bec Bercissia, etc.) and even the more remote ‘hillforts’ in the Apennines, like Cima d’Aurin or Monte Colma, continued well into the Principate, but many villa sites as well seem to go back to previous Iron Age settlements (*v. supra*). From the first century BC onwards, we also see a number of new rural sites, such as the rural settlement at Casalborgone (Rottenga, Monferrato), starting c. 60 BC—as indicated by *vernice nera*, La Tène coarse ware and, from the Augustan period, *terra sigillata*—or at Revignano where *vernice nera* and La Tène coarse ware pottery indicate another early rural settlement or workshop of the first century BC (Zanda *et al.* 1989). This probably shows the increase of agricultural production in the first century BC, resulting, among other things, from the need to produce foodstuffs for growing populations in the towns. Throughout the rural areas, we also find numerous workshops, like the pottery kiln for amphorae at Brignano Frascata (Facchini 1993) or the kiln at Bellinzago (Spagnolo Garzoli 1994). Despite the presence of élite residence across the rural areas, we should not overestimate their rôle. Such a residence might have constituted an important hub to perform their rôle as landlord and *patronus*, underpinned by their involvement in rural cults (cf. next section), and to encourage their tenants to produce a surplus or specialise in certain products. This may imply that they controlled and influenced a large proportion of the rural population. But not only did the decurions compete with other landlords and ‘nouveaux riches’, like traders and veterans who also acquired land, but the rural population could also make independent choices, like finding an economic niche to produce a sufficient surplus that could have been sold at a market. On the other hand, the evidence from sites like

Valperga (Canavese) suggests that some people barely managed to reach a subsistence level, even in a fertile and heavily centuriated area. Also in the Ligurian Apennines, we can recognise site continuity—and to some extent cultural continuity—up to the second century AD, for example ‘Ligurian’ funerary rituals and grave goods, including weaponry (cf. Ciampoltrini and Notini 2004).

5.5 RELIGIOUS CHOICES IN THE PRINCIPATE

Religious choices allow us to examine the various discrepant discourses that motivated people’s actions in Northwest Italy. With people being torn apart between local tradition, innovation and creolisation, a more vivid picture of the complexity of sociocultural change emerges. As a starting point, we ought to assume that religious beliefs were deeply embedded in people’s thinking in pre-Roman times and that they therefore should have persisted in Roman times, allowing for minor alterations to adapt to the *zeitgeist* and its new media. Already in pre-Augustan times, Lepontic inscriptions from Vercellae, Briona and Cureggio were used to indicate cult places, religious authorities and collective identities, thus mirroring changes in the sociopolitical landscape, like the development of state societies, that affected the sacred landscape. The further development of Vercellae and Novaria as Latin colonies and finally Roman-citizen *municipia* may also have required local élites to develop identities for the new territorial units and their attributed *ethnoi*.

The processes of urbanisation and municipalisation must have had an enormous impact on local religions, like the town as religious centre (cf. Van Andringa 2002), but it is very important not to overvalue their importance (cf. Haeussler 2011). Again, it is Caesar’s *lex coloniae Genetivae* which provides an insight into the religious affairs of a Roman colony; similar stipulations could have been valid in the *coloniae* and *municipia* of Northwest Italy. Four aspects in particular seem to show that the local municipality had to follow Roman religious conventions: first, *duumviri* and decurions had the overall religious authority, like the care over *fana*, *templa* and *delubra*, and not any specific priest caste (§ CXXVIII); secondly, Roman-style priesthoods were introduced, notably *pontifices* and *augures* (§ LXVI–LXVII); third, the presence of specific Roman deities, such as annual games in honour of the Capitoline triad—Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Iuno and Minerva (§ LXX–LXXI), which is surprising since the Romans did not have a ‘sense of mission’ (*Sendungsbewußtsein*) and fourth, the decurions were given the responsibility to chose the civic cults and public festivals after the foundation of the colony:

Whoever shall be *Iuiri* after the foundation of the colony, they, within the ten days next after that on which they shall have begun to hold that magistracy, are to raise with the decurions (. . .) which and how many days it may be agreed shall be festivals and which sacrifices shall be publicly performed and who shall perform those sacrifices. And whatever of those matters a majority of the decurions (. . .) shall have decreed or decided, that is to be legal and binding, and there are to be those sacrifices and those festival days in that colony.

(§ LXIV, translation Gabba and Crawford 1996, 422)

This creates the impression that the colonists completely redefined the local pantheon in a single day by creating a series of ‘civic cults’ or ‘polis deities’ that were at the heart of the new community. In Northwest Italy, the choices these decurions made probably reflected their social, political and economic interests, their personal ambitions and relationships across Italy as well as their aspirations to *humanitas* and Greco-Roman *paideia*; thus—consciously or not—they imposed certain ‘Roman’ religious ideas regarding the media, architecture, rituals, content and much more. All this would have profoundly affected the nature of religious activities, and a survival of pre-Roman religions might seem highly improbable. How much more were decisions guided by Roman conventions in the context of a Roman-citizen *municipium* where the Senate and the *pontifices* in Rome were theoretically responsible for legislating on religious matters? However, we must take the stipulations from Urso with caution. For example, it is rarely possible to clearly identify a community’s ‘civic cults’ (cf. Haeussler 2011; Scheid 2006). And as Scheid (1992, 130, n.2) has shown, the *lex coloniae Genetiuae* states that the decurions decided at the beginning of every year on the colony’s public cults and festivals, providing room for religious change. Moreover, Festus (146L) defined so-called municipal cults (*municipalia sacra*) as those civic cults of a *municipium* that were already practised prior to people acquiring Roman citizenship; the Roman *pontifices* wanted people to follow the rituals they were accustomed to (*v. supra*, p. 192). We should therefore not marginalise non-Roman cults as mere *sacra priuata* (cf. Festus 284L). We can assume that local cults persisted after the acquisition of colonial and municipal status. Consequently, a number of questions arise. How did local élites use religion to display their authority and identity? Roman deities and the imperial cult appear an ideal medium for élites to realign and consolidate social hierarchies and to create a sense of ‘Roman’ identity in the local *ciuitatis*. But can we also study aspects of bricolage and creolisation and how people’s religious experiences and their religious choices were part of many parallel developments? This includes the persistence of local cults, the élite’s manipulation of local cults, notably their use of powerful Roman religious notions as well as

the spread of cults across Italy, like Roman, Greek and Egyptian cults but also ‘Celtic’ deities like Albiorix and Belenos.

Imperial Discourse and Imperial Cult

Since all free people in Liguria and the Transpadana had received Roman citizenship in 49 BC, we would expect the worship of the Capitoline triad, but in the Transpadana it is only common in Mediolanum. In our area of study, we find temples with three *cellae* that might have been destined for the Capitoline triad (e.g. the impressive *capitolium* and the ‘great temple’ at the Roman colony Luna, both constructed soon after her foundation; Figure 5.8), and there is only one epigraphic attestation which was set up by the freedwoman Antonia Aphrodisia in the colony of Augusta Praetoria (*CIL* V 6829). But then again, there are no dedications to the Capitoline triad from Urso either. This is partly due to the epigraphic habit since most dedications are votive inscriptions set up by individuals and not by the decurions to honour the civic cults. An involvement of the *ordo*, as in the dedication to Constantine by the *ordo Germa cum plebe* (*SuppIt.* 13.F, 9 = *AE* 1994, 1139), is hardly

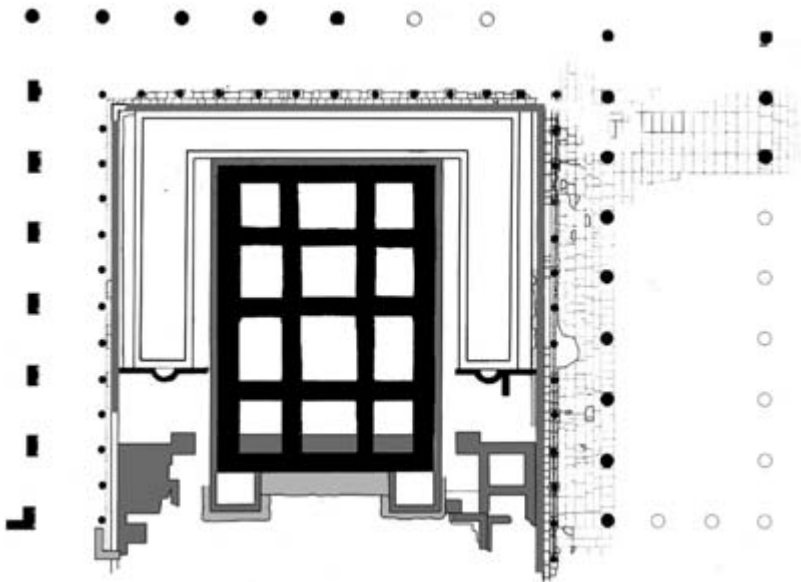


Figure 5.8 The *capitolium* of the Roman colony of Luna, constructed soon after the foundation of the colony (with three *cellae* for Rome’s Capitoline triad), further monumentalised during the Augustan period and surrounded by a porticoe in the first century AD.

ever attested. The involvement of civic magistrates also does not conclusively indicate a public cult. For example, a decurion and *quaestor* from Augusta Taurinorum bequeathed 10,000 sesterces to Jupiter Augustus, but the main aim of this inscription was Metellus's self-representation:

*P(ublius) Metellus | L(uci) f(ilius) dec(urio) Taur(inis) | et quaestor | item
decurio | Eporediae et Iluir | Ioui Aug(usto) | ex HS X (milibus) | test(amento)
poni iussit.*

(CIL V 6955)

Another decurion at Pedona made a dedication to Deus Mars Leucimalacus (CIL V 7862a = ILS 4571; also CIL V 7862; Delamarre 2003, 199, s.v. leucos). Was this a civic cult or was the Celtic epithet a personal choice? As in this case, Latin theonyms need not indicate Roman deities, but rather particularly local variations of a cult that some devotees (and perhaps the *ordo*) chose to call after a Roman deity (*v. infra*). A few votive dedications include the formula *locus datus decreto decurionum*. This indicates a public act, like the decurions allowing a statue to be set up in a public place, notably the forum (cf. Zimmer 1989), but it need not indicate a civic cult (e.g. the votive dedications to Isis and Victoria in Augusta Taurinorum (CIL V 6953, 6959) and *Mercurio lucrorum potenti et conseruator* in Fontanetto Po (CIL V 6596 = AE 2005, 661)). On reliefs, typical Roman sacrifices are of course a frequent topos (cf. arch of Susa, *supra*) as in the scene of a magistrate sacrificing a bull to Jupiter from Salussola (Figure 5.9).

Unlike the Capitoline triad, the imperial cult is widely attested across Northwest Italy. We find dedications to the emperor and the typical priesthoods: 66 *seuiri Augustalis* and 29 *flamines*, attested in most communities, be it a Roman foundation or a *ciuitas* of indigenous origin. Most of the *seuiri* were freedmen (for *regio IX*, cf. Pettirossi 2006–2007), while the *flamen* to the divine emperor was a more prestigious priesthood often



Figure 5.9 Relief of a typical Roman sacrifice discovered at Salussola (Biella).¹

held by equestrians and senators in Northwest Italy. These priesthoods are more widely attested than annual magistracies, suggesting that they were considered more esteemed due to their proximity to the emperor. The association with Rome and the princeps was a powerful tool for local élites. In this way, the imperial cult was an effective medium to structure the relationships between Rome and the local *ciuitates*. Rome and the emperor were physically placed at the centre of every community: temples and statues visualised Roman ideology and the semi-divine rule of the emperor, while the local population was involved in communal ceremonies and rituals.

But we need a bottom-up approach to the imperial cult. At the beginning it was people like the Salassi who put up the first dedications to Augustus and the *domus diuinae*, or Cottius who clothed his allegiance to Augustus in religious terms (Dioscuri, *suouetaurilia*); this is comparable to cults to Roma by Greek cities in the late Republic (cf. Price 1980; 1984). At the beginning, such dedications may have merely symbolised loyalty to Augustus. Only through time did the institutions of *flamines* and *seuiri* become increasingly standardised (cf. *lex de flamonio prouinciae Galliae Narbonensis*, CIL XII 6038 = ILS 6964; Fishwick 2002, 99–111). Titles such as the *flamen Augusti prouvinciae Cottianae* from Segusio (CIL V 7259) or the *flamen ciuitatis Vercellensis* (CIL V 6494) reflect their official character for a province and *municipium* respectively. The *flamen* provided a direct medium of communication between Rome and the local people: on a local level, most *flamines* were also patrons of the local *populus* and they were carefully chosen by the local community or the emperor. This makes the office a powerful medium to consolidate a kind of imperial hierarchy which was focussed on the princeps. The omnipresence of the emperor was not only materialised in architecture, but it was also re-enacted in public performances. On a marble inscription from Salutium (Saluzzio, west of Pollentia), a man left the town money for *munus gladiatorium et saepta lignea* ('gladiatorial show and a wooden enclosure') and dedicated a statue to the emperor Antoninus Pius as *pater patriae* to celebrate his birthday (CIL V 7637 = AE 2000, 585; Roda 1985b, 489). Certain members of the local élites were probably motivated to create this 'presence' of the emperor in a local community because they participated in an imperial discourse and bought into imperial ideology; they might also have had direct personal bonds with a particular emperor, like Iunius Vibius Crispus (*v. supra*). The emperor's omnipresence also explains what might have motivated subaltern classes to make collective dedications directly to the emperor, for example a dedication by the *plebs urbana* in Alba Pompeia to Septimius Severus (AE 1997, 536; also cf. CIL V 7780 from Albingaunum).

The priests in Northwest Italy had a variety of origins. Among the *seuiri*, largely *liberti*, some names suggest an ‘indigenous’ origin, like Vibullius Montanus from Aquae Statiellae (for the ethnic label *Montani* cf. *CIL* V 7509), Albius Ligus from Hasta (*CIL* V 7562; cf. Delamarre 2003, 37 for *Albios*) or Gaius Mogetius Gaetulicus from Suno (*CIL* V 6576; cf. Delamarre 2003, 212 for *Mogetius*). By contrast, *flamines* usually were *equites Romani* or senators with an outstanding career, trusted by the emperor, as in the case of Lucius Alfius Restitutus from Augusta Taurinorum, equestrian, prefect, tribune and *flamen* of the divine Titus (*CIL* V 6995) or Publius Fadienus who was *flamen*, tribune and prefect in *praesidium coloniae* at Augusta Taurinorum (*CIL* V 7002). There are also numerous priestesses of the imperial cult, like the *flaminica diuae Drusillae* from Forum Vibii Caburum (*CIL* V 7345), Tullia Vitrasii, *flaminica p[erpetua] Iulia Augusta [Taurinorum]* from Caramagna Ligure (near Imperia, *CIL* V 7629 = *InscrIt* 9.1, 160) or Albucia Candida, the *flaminica diuae Iuliae Nouar(iae)* and *flaminica diuae Sabinae Ticini*, and wife of a *flamen*, equestrian and *patronus* (*CIL* V 6514 = *AE* 2004, 344).

Interestingly, *flamines* are rarely attested in religious affairs since the evidence mainly consists of funerary and honorary inscriptions, like in this honorary dedication to the *flamen* and *patronus municipii* by the local decurions from Bodincomagus-Industria:

C(aio) Auilio L(uci) f(ilio) | Pol(lia) Gauiano | flamin(i) diui | Caesar(is) perpetuo | patrono municipi(i) | trib(un)o milit(um) legionis III | Gallicae | d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) | quo honore contentus | impensam remissit(!).
(*CIL* V 7478 = *Pais* 954)

In the function of benefactor and *patronus*, the *flamen* provides a powerful link between the local community and Rome as the political and religious centre for all Roman citizens. With the increasing importance of the ubiquitous emperor, a shift of focus from local to imperial level must have been inevitable, which explains why local magistracies seem to have lost their attraction during the Principate. The office of *flamen* was sought by local élites because they could associate themselves with the power and authority of the princes. Scheid (2006, 304) suggested that the imperial cult is a particular form of cult, whose importance should not be overrated. Indeed, *seuiri* and *flamines* appear above all like a ‘dining club’ (Rüpke 2011), an important focus in the Roman web of patronage links. Consequently, we find many people who were *flamen* or *seuir* in several communities, like the *sacerdos* of the *diua Plotina* at Pollentia who was also *sacerdos* of *diua Faustina* at Augusta Taurinorum (*Taurinis*) and of *diua Faustina maior* at Concordia (*CIL* V 7617). As in the legal discourse discussed earlier,

people integrated themselves in an imperial discourse that was mystified by powerful religious metaphors and often integrated into existing 'cults' to 'real gods' (even in Greece, the cult of deified emperors was integrated in Olympia, at the Parthenon in Athens, in Messene, etc.; cf. Alcock 1993, 181–90). Altogether, the cult of the emperor was not mere homage to the emperor, but it served to create coercion locally and to stabilise society.

But besides this imperial discourse, people also participated in a more global discourse, exemplified by the popularity of Greco-Oriental cults. The spread of these cults has of course multiple reasons, like migration within the empire and the cults' popularity in both Rome and the Roman army. We have already discussed the Iseion of Bodincomagus-Industria (*v. supra*), but epigraphic attestations of Greco-Egyptian deities are extremely rare (cf. *CIL* V 6953 from Augusta Taurinorum; cf. Malaise 1972). Epigraphically, the most common 'Oriental' deity is Mithras (*Inuictus deus Mithras* or *Sol Mithras Inuictus*) who was worshipped at Tortona (*AE* 2007, 564), Industria (*CIL* V 7474), Augusta Praetoria (*IAugPraet* 11–12, 17), Vercellae (*ILV* 2) and Arona (Novara) (*CIL* V 8997); none of the dedicants identify themselves as soldiers—so common in the provinces, but an imperial clerk was the *Ca[esaris n(ostr)i u(erna) circ(itor) XL G[all(iarum) stat(ionis) Aug(ustae)] Pra[et(oriae)]* (a custom duties official), making a dedication to Mithras at Augusta Praetoria (cf. Walser 1994).

Among the other 'Eastern' deities, there is Jupiter Dolichenus who might be attested at Vimercate (northeast of Mediolanum) (*AE* 1995, 634; *CIL* V 5726, the latter was interpreted as Jupiter and *d(ei) Penates* by Murley 1922, 14). An important Roman goddess was Magna Mater, but we only find her at Augusta Taurinorum (dedication by Cisinia Firma, *CIL* V 6956a, and two dedications of the *uires* and the *taurobolia* by Sempronia Eutocia and P. Ulattius Priscus, *CIL* V 6961–62).

It appears that people's experiences were faced with many often contradictory discourses: people could experience public performances of Roman-style sacrifices, like the *suouetaurilia*, as suggested by the various depictions, including an altar for Neptune by Lucius Gessius Optatus with a depiction of a sacrifice from Roatto (Asti, *CIL* V 7457). People participated in a Roman-style environment, like the forum-sanctuary complexes at Augusta Praetoria, Hasta, Luna and Libarna or the sanctuary at Great St Bernard with their typically Roman podium temples (Aosta perhaps with twin temples); the absence of the typical Romano-Celtic temples with ambulatories in Northwest Italy seems significant. And of course, there is people's education, notably of the upper classes of society who learned Latin and Greek by reading Vergil and Homer, which could be used as a religious *lingua franca* to express local religious concepts.

Interpretatio Romana and Indigena

Considering the rarity of Rome's Capitoline triad and a much overrated imperial cult, we have to focus on the developments of local cults in Northwest Italy during the Principate. Since Roman cults were not imposed on communities when they were transformed into *municipia* with Roman citizenship (cf. Festus 146L on *municipalia sacra*; Ando 2012; Haeussler 2011), local cults can be expected to have survived. However, people's religious choices took place in an increasingly interconnected, global world, and their religious beliefs and practices were confronted by a multitude of ideas, images and myths. People could also adopt new cults that were popular across the empire, like healing cults, Greco-Oriental cults or Judaism and Christianity. This global discourse also affected the meaning and external appearance of local deities, like the choice of theonyms, votive objects, rituals, sacrifices and architecture, inspiring new 'syncretisms' (cf. Haeussler 2012). But depending on a person's status and cultural background, the individual might have experienced the same cult differently, perhaps creating subaltern versions of popular cults.

In this respect, we have to search for 'traces' of pre-Roman cults: behind a seemingly Roman 'veneer' of Latin theonyms and Roman altars we may find religious understandings, deities and beliefs that were different from those found in Rome. These are sometimes indicated by Celtic epithets, as in Mars Leucimalacus (*v. supra*), or in figurative representations. These are no one-to-one equations, but they generally show how local cults evolved and became redefined. By taking up some Greco-Roman concepts, a local deity could acquire new characteristics and functions; people positioned their local cult in the global Greco-Roman 'supra-myth', developing a local identity by creating specific epithets and local particularities. This leads us to the theme of *interpretatio Romana* when local deities were interpreted by Romans like Tacitus's identification of the Germanic divine brothers, the Alcis, with Castor and Pollux (*Germ.* 43.4–5). And as governor of both Gauls, much of Caesar's knowledge of 'Celtic' religion could have derived from Cisalpine Gaul when he tells us that the Gaul's most important deities were Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Apollo and Minerva (*B Gall.* 6.17). But in our case, we also have to examine the *interpretatio indigena*, i.e. locals associating their deities with appropriate Greco-Roman deities, like choosing Jupiter to represent the local celestial weather god or Mars and Mercury for the 'tribal deity' that protects the community from calamity (cf. Haeussler 2008c).

We are of course dealing with multiple parallel processes. There are the decisions of the decurions on the 'civic cults', decisions that might

have been contested since we cannot assume a consensus among the local élite, nor were these new cults fully understood by the local *populus*. There were also individual choices, like how an individual addressed a deity on a votive altar: for some, a public statement of their *humanitas*, *paideia* and *pietas*, for others personal religious devotion. Since aristocratic notions were confronted with lower class perceptions of cult, myth and ritual, the sacred landscape of Northwest Italy was consequently much more complex, consisting not only of cult places in the new cities as political and religious centres in an urbanised landscape, but also of cult places across rural areas. Is it possible that the underlying substance of many cults—meaning, function and myth—resulted from the late Iron Age? We may only witness certain religious syncretisms, creating new cults that were neither indigenous nor Roman. Even the few Celtic theonyms attested in Northwest Italy are not indicators of ‘cultural resistance’ or the unchanged persistence of native cults, nor are Celtic theonyms the domain of subaltern classes; instead they could be used to express local identities and may well have been new creations during the Principate. We must assume that—despite their ‘Classical education’—local élites must have played an important rôle in the continuity and rejuvenation of indigenous cults in urban and rural areas, as they acted as priests, patrons and sponsors to demonstrate their socio-religious authority (Haeussler 2008b; 2011).

The evolution of local cults is difficult to trace since the evidence for pre-Roman cults is scarce. We should also avoid constructing parallels between Iron Age cults and Neolithic and Bronze Age rock carvings of ‘deities’, like a prehistoric *terra mater*, for example at Mont Bego (Alpes Maritimae) (cf. De Lumley and Échassoux 2011). It is very important to note that indigenous cults are not static. Indigenous cults, like Akisios’s *campus* at Vercellae, might have been embedded in local understandings, but they were already being transformed in the late Iron Age. Even in the Principate, the epigraphic evidence is far from being representative. In other regions of the Roman West, religious dedications make up a substantial proportion of the epigraphic culture and even in the highly ‘Romanised’ Gallia Narbonensis, more than 100 non-Roman theonyms are attested (Haeussler 2008b; Jufer and Luginbühl 2001).

In Northwest Italy, we can recognise enormous sociogeographic variations. In Vercellae, as we have seen earlier, many people had close ties to Rome. In contrast to Akisios’s *campus* dedicated to anonymous deities, choices appear very Roman in the Principate. We find Latin theonyms like Iuppiter Optimus Maximus (ILV 1), Mars (ILV 3), the *nymphae* (ILV 5) and Mithras (ILV 2), but there are also the *Matronae*, typical for Cisalpine Gaul (Figure 5.10; ILV 4, *v. infra*). The deities in Vercellae’s territory seem to reflect similar choices, like Mercury and Jupiter at



Figure 5.10 Dedication to the *Matronae* from Vercellae ‘Quintus Valerius Viator willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow to the *Matronae*’.¹

Bianzé and Santià (*ILV* 90, 105); this may suggest that rural cults served to strengthen the common identity of the entire *municipium*, as with extra-urban sanctuaries in Greek poleis (cf. Dondin-Payre and Raepsaet-Charlier (eds) 2006). But we have to look more closely at the evidence. Besides the indigenous *Matronae*, Mars in Vercellae is called *deus Mars conseruator* who is more common in the provinces, like Germany, Moesia and Dacia (just one dedication to Mars *conseruator* at Rome, *CIL* VI 485, but then we also find many Celtic theonyms in Rome, like Epona and the Suleviae, cf. Jufer and Luginbühl 2001); *conseruator* is also a common epithet for Jupiter and Silvanus/Sucellos in Gaul (cf. Haeussler 2008b; 2012).

This leads us to the question of how to identify ‘indigenous’ deities. This seems most evident in the case of Celtic theonyms. A typical ‘Celtic’ goddess is Thirona (or Sirona, ðirona) whom we can find at Mediolanum: *Thiron(a) et Apollo* (*AE* 1994, 1227). Across the Roman West, Sirona is a frequent companion to ‘Apollo’ and his local variants, such as Apollo Grannus and Apollo Belenos (Jufer and Luginbühl 2001, 62–3). A dedication of a temple *Deo Apollini Beleno* by Lucius Erax Bardus (*bardus* meaning ‘bard’ or merely a *cognomen*?) *ex responso antistitis* (‘in response of a priest’) is attested in Bardonecchia (Turin) in the Alpes Cottiae (*AE* 2005, 961, c. AD 50–150; cf. Freschi 1975, 30–33; Giorcelli Bersani and Roda 1999, 105f). In the Latin colony Aquileia (181 BC),

there are more than 30 attestations of Belenos, also in his Latinised version Belinus, mainly dating to the Principate (Jufer and Luginbühl 2001, 28–9; Zaccaria 2008). Like other Celto-Latin double names, the combination of Apollo and Belenos is traditionally considered to be a ‘conflation’ of a Roman and an indigenous deity with similar meanings. But this is unlikely in this case. Belenos has often been interpreted as ‘lumineux’ or ‘brillant’ due to his combination with Apollo; for Zaccaria (2008, 376) he is ‘il dio delle fonti’. But as Delamarre (2003, 71–2, s.v. *belo*) has convincingly demonstrated, Belenos most likely means ‘Maître de la Puissance’. In Southern Gaul, Belenos is one of the very few attested theonyms on Gallo-Greek inscriptions in the late Iron Age which would support the idea of a more polyvalent and powerful deity (Haeussler 2008c, 29–30). Perhaps the combination with Apollo was aimed to emphasise Belenos’s ‘healing aspect’, making him more docile and therefore acceptable to the society of the Principate.

Another Celtic theonym is Albiorix (appearing also as Mars Albiorix) which is common in the Alpes Cottiae, Alpes Graiae and in Gallia Narbonensis. For example, there are two votive inscriptions to *deus* Albiorix from Cottius’s capital, Segusio (AE 2007, 909c, 909e), and numerous dedications from a votive ditch (first–fourth centuries AD) at Oulx, the Roman *statio ad Martis*, where excavations have revealed a cult centre (Figure 5.11; AE 1945, 105b–d, 106; Crosetto *et al.* 1981, 409).



Figure 5.11 Votive deposit with inscribed dedications to the god Albiorix from Oulx (Torino), hamlet Monte Genevris, covering the period between the first and the fifth centuries AD.¹

For Barruol (1963), this is the ‘king of the mountains of Albion’, the patron of the people of Albici or patron deity of the Alps. But this seems unlikely since *Ἀλβιοριξ* is attested as far away as Galatia (*CIG* 4039 = *OGIS* 533) (also cf. Giorcelli Bersani and Roda 1999, 103f who suggest a healing deity associated with Apollo). It seems that Albiorix represents indigenous religious understandings, as Delamarre (2003, 77, s.v. bitu-) has shown: Albiorix means ‘celestial king/roi du ciel’ and stands side-by-side with Dubnorix (‘le roi de l’enfer’) and Biturix (‘le roi du monde intermédiaire des hommes’) (cf. Holder I 85). The occasional combination with Mars (e.g. *CIL* XII 1300) probably suggests a deity whose function was to protect a community from calamity, though Albiorix’s popularity in the Alps may relate to his association with the celestial world.

At the Gran San Bernardo pass north of Augusta Praetoria (leading to the Lemannus Lacus, to Aventicum and Augusta Raurica), there was a large sanctuary for the god Poeninus (Figure 5.12). This Celtic or perhaps pre-Celtic theonym (from **penn-che*, ‘top of the mountain’, Holder II.

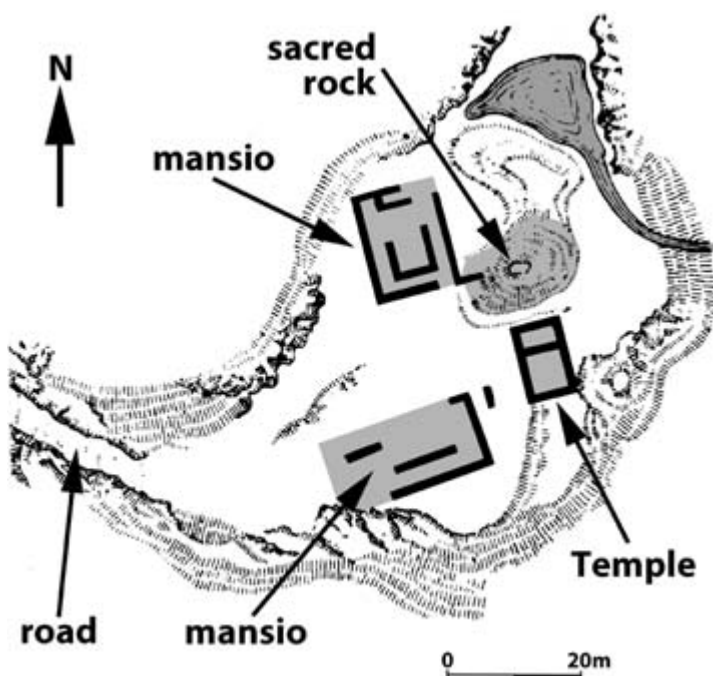


Figure 5.12 Schematic plan of Jupiter Poeninus’s sanctuary at the Great Saint Bernard pass situated at a height of 2,473 metres above sea level; the temple faces the sacred rock where votive offerings (coins) were deposited since the late Iron Age (plan: author).

1021–23, s.v. Poeninus) also describes the valley and mountain range (Strabo 4.6.7: Ποινίνου). For Livy (21.38.9), the mountain pass was named ‘after the divinity whom the mountain-dwellers called Poeninus, worshipped on the highest summit’ (in Roman times, the sanctuary was located on the highest point of the road, not on the summit). There already seems to have been a modest pre-Roman cult place (with Celtic coins as ex-voto from the mid-second century BC onwards) which was enlarged and monumentalised in Roman times (Mollo Mezzena 1985, 157–161; Giorcelli Bersani and Roda 1999, 94–98; Acolat 2008). The Roman-style podium temple and *mansio* were an important station when crossing the Alps. Most dedications therefore do not attest natives, but passers-by, predominantly Roman citizens with *tria nomina* (76%) (Acolat 2008, 117). Ex-votos and prophylactic offers relate to a good journey:

Poenino pro itu et reditu C(aius) Iulius Primus uotum s(oluit) l(ibens) m(erito).

‘To Poeninus for the journey and return, Gaius Iulius Primus willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow.’

(*InscrIt* 11.1, 73; similarly *InscrIt* 11.1, 71 to *Ioui P[oenino]*)

Poeninus was simultaneously worshipped on his own, including by militaries (e.g. *praefectus cohortis V Asturum* and *eques legionis IIII Macedonica*, *InscrIt*. 11.1, 58, 67f, 72–5, 77, 82–4, 87) and as *Iuppiter (Optimus Maximus) Poeninus*, especially by militaries and other officials, such as the *tabell(arius) colon(iae) Sequanor(um)* (*InscrIt* 11.1, 57, 60, 62f, 71, 76, 78, 80, 86, 89).

In Roman *interpretatio*, Jupiter became a guardian of the mountains across the Alps. St. Augustine (*De civ. D.* 5.26) talks about the *Iouis simulacra* (. . .) in *Alpibus* with their golden thunderbolts which were destroyed by Theodosius. For Landucci Gattinoni (1991, 130–31) and Giorcelli Bersani and Roda (1999, 97f), the ‘Romanisation’ of Poeninus was imposed by force after the Augustan conquest—a Roman ‘state cult’ demonstrating the opening of the border—and the Roman state certainly invested enormous resources in improving the Alpine passes, like making them accessible for carriages. But if it had been an early imposition by Rome, we probably would not find so many dedications exclusively to Poeninus, including by many Roman officials. We can, however, recognise how Poeninus developed into a local variant of Jupiter within an imperial, or should we say ‘global’, pantheon.

Two possible Celtic theonyms can be found in a short inscription from Crevoladòssola (Verbania) (*CIL* V 6650 = *AE* 1990, 855): *Tinco Mocc(o) d*(. . .) with ‘d’ for *dedicauit* or *dibus*. Both names are also attested as personal names, but Moccus is most clearly known

as a theonym or epithet in Langres (*deo Mercur(io) Mocco*, *CIL* XIII 5676; cf. Delamarre 2003, 227: ‘dieu sanglier’), while Tinco resembles the Mars Thincsus from Housesteads (*RIB* 1593); it therefore seems possible that Tincus and Moccus are surnames to characterise one or two local deities. At Aquae Statiellae we find a votive dedication to two local deities Dorminus and Sueta (*CIL* V 7504). In the context of hot sulphur springs, these theonyms may have been associated with the spring, similar to Bormanus at Aquae Sextiae (*CIL* XII 494). There is still no convincing etymological explanation for Dorminus, while Delamarre (2003, 167f) translates Sueta as the goddess ‘qui a des Bonnes-Prairies’. The dedicant’s gentilicium, Vimiunus, is unique and resembles Celtic names like Viminius and Vimpus (Delamarre 2003, 226f, 319), perhaps confirming the local (indigenous) context of this dedication.

Two interesting theonyms are attested in this dedication from Pedona (Borgo San Dalmazzo) (Figure 5.13):

*L(ucius) Crispus | Augustinus | du(u)muir diis(!) | Rubacasco et | Robeoni
uotum | s(oluit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito)*

(*SuppIt* 13.P, 3 = *ILS* 4683)



Figure 5.13 Altar from Demonte (Cuneo) with a unique dedication to the gods Rubacascus and Robeonus (Mennella 1998, 141).¹

This is a remarkable choice of deities for the *duumvir* Lucius Crispus Augustinus. These theonyms are otherwise unknown and difficult to interpret. *Rupac-asco* appears to be Celtic because of the Celtic suffix *-asco* (cf. Schmidt 1957); a comparable word is attested as a toponym at Veleia (*salt(um) siue fund[os] Rubacotium*, ILS 6675 = AE 2006, 445), but this need not imply a topoonymic deity, merely that both words derive from the same root. The second theonym could be a Celtic compound word starting in *ro-*, ‘very’ (Delamarre 2003, 260, s.v. *ro-*); but it also resembles Latin *robius*, *robust*, ‘heart or core of a tree (e.g. oak), hardness, force’—and trees are of course very important in cults from Gaul (De Bernardo-Stempel 2007).

Also at Pedona, there are two dedications to *Deus Mars Leucimalicus/Leucimalacus* set up by the Rufillius Augustus and the decurion Marcus Fuscus Secundus of the Quirinia voting tribe respectively (CIL V 7862–7862a = ILS 4571–4571a = *SuppIt* 13.P, 2; De Pasquale 1990, 53–7). The former contains the phrase *uotum solu(ens) plostralibus dedicauit* with *plostralibus* being an epigraphic unicum; Pascal (1964) suggested a connection to the *feriae mulionum*. For Hastings, (1915, 69) Leucimalacus was an ‘apple-ripening deity’ whose dedication was made ‘on some festival of waggoners or muleteers (*plostralibus*)’; for Giorcelli Bersani and Roda (1999, 110), he was the protector of local muledrivers. But Leucimalacus was no muledriver deity: his name probably relates to Celtic *leucos*, ‘clair, brilliant’ (Delamarre 2003, 199 who also cites *Leuco-camulus*; also cf. Latin *lux*; Greek *leukós*), and Holder (II 195) translated it as ‘god of prayer for his brightness’, perhaps comparable to Mars epithets that describe the particular characteristics of a local Mars, like Mars Loucetius/Leucetius and Louccianus (cf. Pascal 1964, 157). In the concept of a polis religion, local deities ought to have specific characteristics, and we can therefore find a variety of local *Martes* (Freschi 1975, 20–37; Jufer and Luginbühl 2001, 97–103; Haeussler 2012). Not all *Martes* have an epithet, but we can assume that other Mars dedications from the area similarly reflected local identities, for example in the area of Forum Germa (*SuppIt* 13.F, 1–2).

The question arises as to why somebody chose a Celtic theonym or epithet in the context of an otherwise typical Latin inscription, especially if this would contradict the dedicant’s ‘*Romanitas*’, notably of a decurion or *duumvir*. There are of course multiple explanations: an epithet/theonym may derive from a local toponym (perhaps Poeninus and Rubacascus), though we can hardly ever tell whether a deity was named after a town, *ethnos*, river, source or mountain, or vice-versa. It is also possible that some names were creations of the Principate in an attempt to forge a local identity for the citizens of Roman-style *ciuitates* and *pagi*. Cases like Mars Leucimalicus show a sense of ‘globalisation’: they present a unique local identity, while at the same time being inserted in a

Roman pantheon; associating a local deity with Mars, for example, may of course affect people's perception of the cult in the long run. But then again, we might be dealing with well-established epithets, *cognomina* or divine concepts, some of which may not translate into Latin or Roman concepts, as perhaps in the case of the tripartite division of Albiorix, Biturix and Dubnorix.

Matronae

This leads us to the *Matronae*. With some 100 epigraphic attestations, the *Matronae* are a particular phenomenon in Cisalpine Gaul (Mennella and Lastrico 2008; Jufer and Luginbühl 2001; Rüger 1987, 4). Despite their apparently Latin name, this is a Celtic theonym (Delamarre 2003, 219, s.v. *matir*, 'mère'). While the theonym *matres* is common in Gaul and Britain, *Matronae* is specific to Cisalpine Gaul and Lower Germany, reflecting different choices: *matres/matribus* sounds similar to the Celtic *mātīr* and its dative plural *matrebo* (e.g. RIG G-14, G-203), while *Matronae* resembles the genitive plural of Celtic *matron* (cf. Gallo-Greek rock inscriptions from Castellán [Istres]: Lejeune 1988b). *Matronae* are not attested in Rome, except for mother goddesses with 'Celtic' names, like the *Matres Suleviae* (CIL VI 31140–31149, 31174f). Of course, there are triads of 'mother goddesses' in Greco-Roman religion, like the Roman Fates and Parcae (Nona, Decuma and Morta) and the Greek Moirai (Clotha, Lachesis and Atropos), but they are different from the *Matres* and *Matronae* in Cisalpine Gaul and the Keltiké (OCD³, s.v. Fate; cf. Bauchhenß (ed) 1987; Duval 1976; Haeussler 2008c, 2008d; Rüger 1986). There, we find mother goddesses both as triad and as a single goddess. As 'earth mother' or 'spring deities', they show their chthonic identities, and dedications, such as *Ioui et Ter(r)ae mat(ri)* from Nîmes (CIL XII 3071), show the conflict between celestial and chthonic forces, whose union creates fertility (cf. Delamarre 2003, 219; Haeussler 2008d). For some scholars, this represents an Indo-European 'earth-mother' of 'pre-Celtic' origin (cf. e.g. Duval 1976; Campanile and Polomé (eds) 1996, 74–77). Usually these *Matronae* are localised deities, connected to particular places, like springs.

Also in Northwest Italy, the choice of epithet reflects the function of the *Matronae*. An interesting case is provided by the dedication *Matronis Deruonnis* from Mediolanum (CIL V 5791), also attested in a 'Romanised' version as *Fatae Deruonnae* in Brixia (CIL V 4208; cf. Sartori 1992, 83), which Delamarre (2003, 140, s.v. *dervos*) translates as 'oak fairies': the oak is of course the sacred tree of the 'druids', but here it could also symbolise the world and/or rebirth. The dedication *Sanctis Matronis Ucelasicis Concanaunis* from Corbetta, near Mediolanum, also show indigenous elements (CIL V 5584 = AE 1993, 805). The meaning of these epithets is more problematic, but *concanaunis* appears

Celtic: Delamarre (2003, 101, s.v. canauo-) suggests ‘jeune loup’, while De Bernardo Stempel (1998b, 609) interpreted the epithet as **kan-a-mno* from **kan-*, ‘to sing’.

We also find Latin epithets, as in this dedication from Cavallirio (Novara) to Jupiter Best and Greatest, ‘the benevolent mother goddesses’ and Mercury ‘Master of Profits’ (*CIL* V 6594):

*Ioui O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Matronis | Indulgentibus | Mercurio | Lucrorum
| Potenti | L(ucius) Valerius Vagian(a)r() | u(otum) s(oluit).*

The *cognomen* of the dedicant of this otherwise almost perfect Latin inscription is unique: probably an indigenous name. There might also be localised ‘ethnic’ epithets, as in the dedication *Matronis Braecorium Gallianatium* from La Brianza (*ILS* 4821; cf. Sartori 1992, 83; cf. Mars Braciaca, ‘Mars de la bière’ Delamarre 2003, 84, s.v. bracis).

This already leads us to the nature of these cults, their worshippers and the question of whether these religious groups were largely limited to remote rural areas (Figure 5.14). Regarding the dedicants, one generally



Figure 5.14 Large marble altar from Avigliana/*Fines Cotti* (Alpes Cottiae) depicting five female figures holding each other's hands with crossed arms. The dedication reads: ‘To the *Matronae*, Tiberius Iulius Acestes, freedman of Priscus’ (*CIL* V 7210).¹

assumes that the mother goddesses were mainly worshipped by freedmen, slaves and *peregrini* (Rüger 1987, 22), but in the Transpadana and Liguria there are just three attestations of *liberti* involved in the cult of *Matronae* (CIL V 5786, 7848; AE 2002, 585). The majority of dedications to the *Matronae* was set up by men (only three women), mainly Roman citizens with *tria nomina*, though there are some Celtic-style patronymics, like the dedication *Matronis Iunonibus* by *Valerius, Baronis f(i)lius* (Arcisate, CIL V 5450; *Baronis/Baronius* is common in the Transpadana), sometimes with Celtic onomastic elements, as in *Varius Tenax* at Morutium (Morozzo, Cuneo, CIL V 7703). If the *Matronae* had been deities relating to fertility and childbirth, then it seems surprising that only three female dedicants are attested in Liguria and Transpadana. The dedication to the *Matronae Iunones* also shows another *interpretatio*—or association—with Jupiter’s consort Iuno who was turned into the plural goddess Iunones (cf. Menella and Lastrico 2008; for Southern Gaul, cf. Haeussler 2008b).

The spatial distribution of the *Matronae* is very unbalanced (Figure 5.15; cf. Menella and Lastrico 2008). A large concentration of dedications comes from the region between Novaria, Comum and Mediolanum—an area that had already developed a strong local identity in the Iron Age as we have seen in Chapter 2—an identity that might have survived in mediated

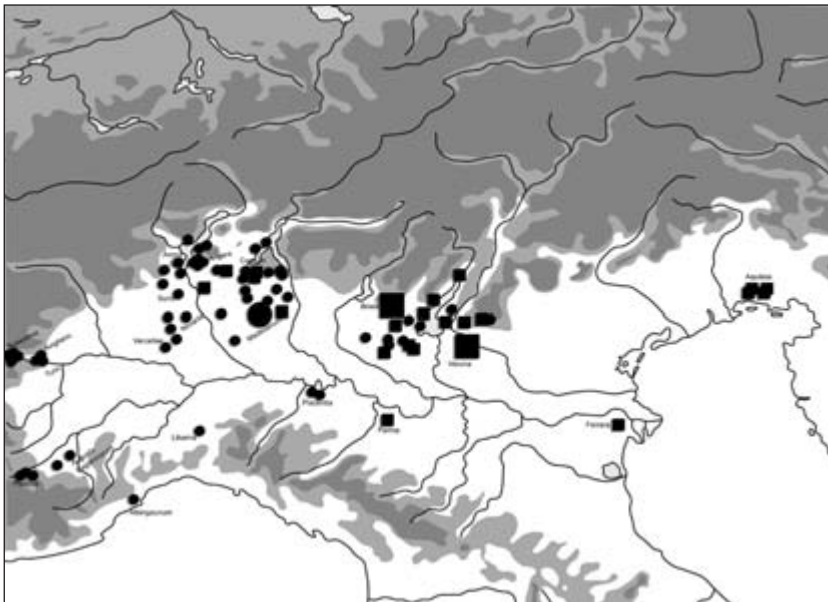


Figure 5.15 Distribution map of *Matronae* dedications in Northwest Italy (map: author).

form into the Principate. With inscriptions at Vercellae (*ILV* 4), Comum and 10 attestations from around Mediolanum (Jufer and Luginbühl 2001), it is obvious that the worship of the *Matronae* was not limited to the subaltern classes in rural contexts, but was also found in the large urban centres. But a possible cult place on a rural domain can be found, for example, at Bussoleno, the site of a probable Roman-style villa which yielded five dedications to the *Matronae*, suggesting a possible control over the cult by the local landowner (cf. Crosetto *et al.* 1981, 393, nos. 64–5; *CIL* V 7222–7228, 7241, 8952). In Liguria, the *Matronae* are rare and they are absent from the healing spring at Aquae Statiellae. Two dedications *Matronis dis deabusq(ue)* (from Caselbetrame and Suno, Novaria, *CIL* V 6481, 6575 *add.* p. 1087) may indicate that non-local people made dedications to the local mother goddesses and all the other (unknown or anonymous) deities associated with a particular place (the *dis deabusque* is a formula particularly common in ‘unchartered’, foreign territories, like the frontier region around Hadrian’s Wall).

Rural Cult Places

As a venue for re-enacting local identities, either for a rural community or as a reminder of a pre-Roman ‘ethnos’ or ‘tribe’, rural cult places may be considered the best place to find a ‘persistence’ of Iron Age cult elements. But, can we describe rural Northwest Italy as a ‘landscape of resistance’ (in the words of Alcock 1997 for Roman Greece)? The Canavese north of Turin, for example, is an area where the rural population adapted Latin epigraphy in spontaneous forms to express their local identity (cf. Chapter 5.6), but surprisingly they did not set up any religious dedications (the nearest dedication—to Jupiter—comes from Settimo Torinese, *AE* 1991, 884).

Many of the rural cult places may have only been created in the Roman period. Spring sanctuaries, for example, were fashionable for their healing qualities in Roman times and they were therefore often monumentalised. Yet most importantly, there may have been the need for a socio-religious focal point in a large and diverse territory to which numerous communities were attributed during the process of municipalisation: a rural sanctuary might have been integrated into the fabric of the *ciuitas* as an extra-urban sanctuary to control the distant regions of a *municipium* (cf. Derks 1998; Dondin-Payre and Raepsaet-Charlier (eds) 2006). But rural cults may also have been created by the rural population as a focus for villages and dispersed settlements where rural dwellers could meet regularly (or perhaps only once a year) for seasonal festivals. We do not need the *ciuitas* to organise such a rural cult since the financial investment may have been negligible and one does not necessarily need any cult architecture or expensive animal sacrifices; an

inscribed stone altar or cult statue could already have been considered an elaborate and perhaps even exceptional elements for such a rural cult. In addition, individual landowners could have used cults to display their socio-religious authority by financing, controlling and organising them (Haeussler 2008b; 2011). The result may have been very complex: our evidence, notably epigraphy and sculpture, may represent élite choices, while the subaltern classes may have had a different view of their local deities.

An important rural cult centre can be assumed at Suno in the territory of Novaria due to an unusual concentration of epigraphic dedications. However, it is difficult to tell whether we are dealing with a local village cult, a series of cult places or an extra-urban sanctuary of the *ciuitas*. Among the almost 30 inscriptions from Suno, there are at least five dedications to Mercury, four to Hercules, two to Victoria, two to Jupiter and one to the *Matronae* and *dis deabus(que)* (cf. Table 5.4; Figure 5.16). Except for the *Matronae*, these theonyms appear perfectly ‘Roman’, although we have to examine them more closely to understand people’s choices in a region with such long-standing Iron Age traditions, notably the vicinity to Cureggio and the former Golasecca centre of Castelletto Ticino-Sesto Calende.

Table 5.4 Dedications from Suno (Novara)

Deity	Dedicant	Reference
HERCULI	Braunius, Primigeni f(ilius) Vale[—] V[—]	<i>CIL</i> V 6570 <i>add.</i> p. 1087
HERCULI	Q(uintus) V(alerius?) I()	<i>CIL</i> V 6581 <i>add.</i> p. 1087 = <i>EpiNov-App</i> , 4
HERCULI	T(itus) Magius Perseus	<i>CIL</i> V 8930 = <i>EpiNov-App</i> , 2
HERCULI	Severinus Pollio	<i>CIL</i> V 8931 = <i>EpiNov-App</i> , 3
Iov[ī -3-]	[—]ci Ter[—]	<i>CIL</i> V 6571 <i>add.</i> p. 1087
I(OVI) O(PTIMO)	M(arcus) Valerius Veri f(ilius)	<i>CIL</i> V 6572 <i>add.</i> p. 1087
M(AXIMO)	Verinus <i>centurio</i>	= <i>EpiNov-App</i> , 1
M(ERCURIO?)	Eburius, Exorati f(ilius)	<i>CIL</i> V 6573 (AD 179)
M(ERCURIO?)	T(itus) Vibius T(iti) I(ibertus) Optatus	<i>CIL</i> V 6574 = <i>EpiNov-App</i> , 8
MERCURIO	C(aius) Mogetius Gaetulicus, IIIIII <u>uir</u>	<i>CIL</i> V 6576 <i>add.</i> p. 1087 = <i>EpiNov-App</i> , 7
MERCURIO	[—]erinus (e.g. Verinus, Severinus)	<i>CIL</i> V 6577 <i>add.</i> p. 1087
MERCURIO	Eburius Verus	<i>CIL</i> V 6578 <i>add.</i> p. 1087 = <i>EpiNov-App</i> , 6
MATRONIS ET DIS DEABUS	T(itus) Maius Iustinu(s)	<i>CIL</i> V 6575 <i>add.</i> p. 1087 = <i>EpiNov-App</i> , 5
VICTORIAE	P(ublius) Remmius Fidelis	<i>CIL</i> V 6579 <i>add.</i> p. 1087 = <i>EpiNov-App</i> , 9
VICTORIAE (epitaph)	T(itus) Valerius Crispinus L(ucius) Sintacius, <i>haruspex</i>	<i>CIL</i> V 8932 = <i>EpiNov-App</i> , 10 <i>CIL</i> V 6582 <i>add.</i> p. 1087.



Figure 5.16 Dedication to Mercury by Gaius Mogetius Gaetulicus (Mennella 1998: figure 149).¹

The dedicants at Suno are generally Roman citizens, while the naming practice reflects local epigraphic habits. The Roman voting tribe is rarely indicated, and some people chose to use a Celtic-style filiation, even when employing the *tria nomina*, as in *M(arcus) Cominius Iustinus, Valeriani f(ilius)* and his wife *Succ(e)ssa Pastorina, Terti fil(ia)* (CIL V 6580); a dedication by Eburius, son of Exoratus even provides a rare consular date (AD 179, CIL V 6573). Single names might indicate peregrine status, but this seems unusual after 49 BC unless we deal with immigrants from Transalpine Gaul; Braunius and Eburius could equally be *gentilicia*, leaving out *praenomen* and *cognomen*. A number of *gentilicia* from Suno are also attested elsewhere in Novaria's territory: Eburius at Novaria herself (CIL V 6521), Magia/Magius at Biandrate and Agrate Conturbia (CIL V 6496; AE 1999, 755), while the *Valerii* are common at Suno and across Novaria (e.g. a *quattuoruir* and *flamen*, CIL V 6523). Some of these people might have had their rural residence in or around Suno, notably the *Valerii*, but their religious choices do not reflect élite *Romanitas* despite the involvement of municipal magistrates.

Mercury is widely attested in the Transpadana, while there are only two dedications in the whole of Liguria. People's preference for Mercury—in towns and rural areas—must be significant. One of the dedications at Suno was set up by the *seuir* Gaius Mogetius Gaetulicus. Mogetius could be a Celtic name (Delamarre 2003, 212) and Gaetulicus a 'deckname'. Though *seuir* in the *municipium* Novaria, a Roman-style priesthood does not imply that he had to impose Roman-style cults. The freedman Titus Vibius Optatus also made a dedication to Mercury; Vibius is a popular *gentilicium* not only in Vercellae (*v. supra*), but also across Novaria's territory, where it is attested twice at Suno (also *CIL* V 6583, *add.* p. 1087). Other dedicants to Mercury at Suno have more Celtic names, notably Eburius, son of Exoratus and Eburius Verus (Delamarre 2003, 159, 169). Mercury seems very important in the entire *municipium* of Novaria: another *Vluir et Aug(ustalis)* made a dedication to him in Novaria (*CIL* V 6505), while a certain *Secundus, Gemelli f(ilius)* set one up in Mercurago (*CIL* V 6620 = *AE* 1999, 758). However, the typical 'Celtic' pairing of deities (e.g. Mercury and Maia/Rosmerta, so common in the Tres Galliae) is rare in our area (one Mercury and Maia at Laus Pompeia, *CIL* V 6354). Altogether, it seems that a local Mercury was worshipped at Suno by people from the area, both landowners and those of 'autochthonous' origin.

Some 10km northwest of Suno, at Cavallirio, Lucius Valerius made a dedication to the seemingly Roman *Iuppiter O(ptimus) M(aximus)*, which he combined with potentially indigenous deities: the *Matronae indulgentae* and *Mercurius lucrorum potenti*, 'Master of Profits' (first century AD, *v. supra*); a *Mercurius lucrorum potenti et conseruator* can also be found at Fontanetto Po (Vercellae), set up by the *quattuoruir* Gaius Gemellius Valerianus together with his wife and *liberti* (*CIL* V 6596 = *AE* 2005, 661, AD 196). The epithet *lucrorum potenti* is otherwise only attested once in the empire, in Pannonia inferior (*AE* 1910, 134), while at Aquae Statiellae we find *Mercurius negotiatori* (*SupplIt* 25.AS, 4). Is this Caesar's Gallic Mercury with 'great influence over the acquisition of gain and mercantile transactions' (*B Gall.* 6.17.2)? The epithet *conseruator* is also common for local Jupiter and Silvanus, like the dedication *Silu[ano conserua]tor(i)* from Bodincomagus-Industria (*SupplIt* 12.In, 2). We also find Silvanus—and Sucellos—in Gallia Narbonensis, not as the Roman *rusticorum deus*, but as an important, omnipotent deity of 'native' origin, often associated with a hammer or mallet and with a dog (cf. Haeussler 2008c, 33–5); the dog is of course typical of the Roman Silvanus as protector of shepherds (cf. *CIL* V 7146; Figure 5.17; c. 175–225 AD; for Silvanus's dedication with relief from Borgone di Susa, cf. Brecciaroli Taborelli and Lucchino 1984; *AE* 1992, 1159).



Figure 5.17 Dedication to Silvanus by Quintus Tossatus Symphorus, Augusta Taurinorum (*CIL* V 7146).¹

At nearby Cureggio, the site of the important Lepontic inscription (*v. supra*), epigraphy attests the worship of Mercury together with Jupiter and Minerva (*CIL* V 6606–6610). And the question arises as to whether we are still dealing with the same cults as in late Republican Cureggio. In a way, we are looking through the filter of private dedications and ex-votos that involve multiple motivations: the choice of a Latin theonym may reflect people's '*Romanitas*', whereas the choice of Mercury may be an imposition of one of Novaria's 'polis deities'; alternatively it could be a personal choice, perhaps as a personal interpretation of a local cult—both at Cureggio or Suno. The different varieties of Mercury and certain parallels between Mercury, Silvanus and Jupiter may reveal the problem of *translatability* since it is rarely possible to make a clear one-to-one identification between local and Roman deities: different people made different choices depending on their interpretation of the local deity, for example by emphasising different functions or mythical narratives.

The choice of Hercules at Suno is also interesting. Was he the Greek semi-god, ‘Hercules invictus’ so often worshipped in Rome (Mastrocinque 1991, 221–24)? Like Mercury, Hercules is particularly popular in the areas of Novaria, Comum and Mediolanum. Taking into consideration Pliny’s account of the Lepontii (*NH* 3.134), people may have created their identity as descendants of Hercules in response to the Greek myth. The worship of Hercules on the Piccolo San Bernardo may also be a reference to his mythical passage across the Alps (cf. Molloy Mezzena 1985, 157–161; Haeussler 2012). Alternatively, Hercules could be an *interpretatio indigena* for a local deity or semi-god, like Smertrios or Ogmios, perhaps the *Hercules gallicus* attested at Alife (Campania) (Bauchhenß 2008). This indigenous *interpretatio* can be found most explicitly in the dedication to *Hercules Mertronnus Anteportanus* from Sibrium (Arsago Seprio). The epithet *mertronnus* has the same root as the Celtic semi-god *Smertrios* whose deeds are depicted on the Parisian ‘pilier des nautes’ in a similar fashion to those of Hercules: (*s*)*mer*- (‘foresight, provision, providence’) shows the maintenance of prosperity in peace-times; *anteportanus* may indicate that he watches at the threshold of the house or last resting place (*CIL* V 5534; cf. Duval 1953–1954; Sartori 1992, 83; Haeussler 2012). We also need to take into account that knowledge of the Hercules myth probably was acquired long before the Roman conquest as we already find bronze statuettes of Hercules that date between the mid-fourth and third centuries BC at Borgosesia (Turin), while two bronze statuettes from Susa are typical of Celtic art of the third and second centuries BC (Figure 5.18).

The goddess Victoria is not only worshipped at Suno, but across North-west Italy. Does she simply represent the Roman goddess of victory who is so often depicted on Roman coins as ‘propaganda’ messages? An interesting altar was found at Segusio where the representation of Victoria is surrounded by the dedication of Lucius Moccus Ligus (*CIL* V 7147); is it possible that she took on the rôle of the Celtic Nemetona, as in the Mars-Nemetona/Victoria dedications of eastern Gaul (cf. Haeussler 2008d)? By contrast, Jupiter could most easily take over the rôle of the local gods of weather and thunder—and he was also associated with local Alpine gods, like Poeninus (*v. supra*). The presence of a *haruspex* at Suno and nearby Cavaglio d’Agogna, the typically Romano-Etruscan priest of divination who inspected the entrails of sacrificial animals, is most enigmatic, especially since the *haruspex* from Suno had the Celtic *gentilicium* Sintacius (Delamarre 2003, 270; only three other attestations in Narbonensis and Pannonia): were these just the local residences of Novaria’s *haruspices* or did *haruspices* play a particular rôle in the cults at Suno? Altogether we can see rather interesting choices in this rural, subalpine context, which may well reflect personal choices to represent local cults.



Figure 5.18 One of several bronze figurines of Hercules discovered at Borgosesia (Torino), hamlet Poggio di Montrigone, c. 350–200 BC.¹

At Savigliano (Cuneo, frazione Levaldigi), there seems to have been an important cult place dedicated to the goddess Diana Augusta (cf. Pascal 1964, 144–150; Giorcelli Bersani and Roda 1999, 116f). The dedicants were all Roman citizens, four women and one man (1st–2nd centuries AD) (Figure 5.19):

Numini Dianae Aug(ustae) Valeria Epithusa mag(istra) (InscrIt 9.1, 175).

Dianae Aug(ustae) Seia Q(uinti) f(ilia) Sabina mag(istra) p(agi)

(InscrIt 9.1, 176)

Deanae(!) sacrum Venelia C(ai) f(ilia) Marcella et Valeria L(uci) l(iberta) Appelia

(InscrIt 9.1, 177)

[Dianae] Aug(ustae) [u(otum) s(oluit)] L(ucius) Valerius [L(uci) f(ilius)] Caper

(InscrIt 9.1, 178)

The character of the inscriptions suggests a public function. One dedication was set up by a *magistra*, one by a *magistra pagi*. There were similar priestesses from other regions of Italy, notably a *magistra Dianae Karenae* in Aquinum (AE 1978, 97), but also a *magistra Matri Matutae* in Cora (AE 2004, 388) and a *magistra B(ona)e D(eae)* at



Figure 5.19 Three dedications to Diana from Savigliano (Cuneo).¹

Aquileia (CIL V 757 = ILS 4894)—all three goddesses relate to fertility and birth. An inscription by the *aedil* and *Ilvir quinquennalis* Lucius Gavius from Savigliano could also have been part of an ex-voto (*InscrIt* 9.1, 179). The presence of *magistrae* and a *duumvir* could indicate an extra-urban sanctuary organised and financed by the local *ordo* to create a focus point for a *pagus*. A *pagus* does not necessarily imply forms of

organisation (tribe, *ethnos*) that go back to a period prior to the municipalisation in the first century BC and their restructuration within Roman municipalities. Many of these *pagi* could be creations of the Roman perio, organised and controlled by municipal élites, in order to facilitate the administration and tax collection of *ciuitates* (cf. Tarpin 2002). This interpretation also seems likely in the case of Savigliano which was at the centre of a highly centuriated river plain, implying a profound reorganisation of the landscape in the late first century BC.

But was Diana—the Roman goddess of hunting—merely chosen because hunting was a popular élite pastime in the countryside? Or was she the ‘polis deity’ of this *municipium*? At Pollentia, we find mainly dedications to Jupiter (*InscrIt* 9.1, 126; AE 2002, 487) and Victoria (*InscrIt* 9.1, 127; AE 2002, 488), as well as *flaminicae, seuiri Augustali* and a *sacerdos Pollentiae* relating to the imperial cult (AE 1982, 376; 2007, 564). But there is one possible dedication to *Deana*(!) set up by Lucius Veianius Tertius (CIL V *902, *Alba Pompeia* *1) with the same spelling as the *Deana* as on the elaborate marble altar from Savigliano. In this respect, it is also interesting that Diana can also be found at neighbouring sites in this vast plain, for example at Fossano (*InscrIt* 9.1, 186) and Govone (CIL V 7592), but there is also Diana *uenans*—the ‘hunting Diana’—at Morozzo (*InscrIt* 9.1, 90; cf. the Italic goddess Diana Nemorensis at Mediolanum, AE 1982, 403). Further north at Carreum-Potentia there was a *Fons Dianae Victoriae* which was surrounded *inter quattuor terminus* similar to the *campus* of the Vercellae bilingual inscription (CIL V 7493–7494 = *SuppIt* 8.CP, 1f). The Fossana dedication also includes the non-Roman dedicatory formula *sub ascia*, which is typical of Gaul (though mainly in a funerary context): *Dianae Aug(ustae) sacrum ascia* || *Dianae sacrum sub ascia*. Altogether it is probable that Diana incorporated some ‘indigenous’ elements. Like the Greek Artemis, Diana was a complex deity responsible for rites of passage and bringing death to men and women (cf. OCD³ 182–4, s.v. Artemis [Sourvinou-Inwood]). In this respect, a dedication to Diana *ex imperio* does not seem appropriate for a simple goddess of hunting (Biandrate, Novaria, CIL V 6493; very rare, cf. CIL X 1234; XIII 7966). It is possible, but purely hypothetical, that Diana symbolised local concepts of an indigenous ‘Terra Mater’, a chthonic mother goddess (cf. Haeussler 2008d, 198–99). A dedication *Dianae et Mat[r(onis)]* from the *territorium* of Novaria might support Diana’s rôle as a fertility deity (CIL V 6497a = *EpiNov* 9). In this respect, we might be dealing with a local variant of a mother goddess in a form of ‘*interpretatio indigena*’. Many of the local worshippers might have focussed on her rôle in protecting women from death in childbirth, which may explain the importance of the female *cultores* at Savigliano.

Local Cults in a Global World

Altogether, these few examples can only provide a small insight into people's religious choices in Northwest Italy. As we have seen, the epigraphic evidence from Northwest Italy is far from being representative (cf. Table 5.2). The imperial cult dominates our evidence, though not for its religious importance, but because of the status display of *seuiri* and *flamines*. Moreover, the large number of dedications from rural sites like Suno outnumbers the evidence from most *coloniae* and *municipia*. For example at Alba Pompeia epigraphic dedications are lacking, leaving aside a dedication to the *Lares* and one to *M*(. . .). It is therefore problematic to generalise about people's religious experiences. It is even difficult to clearly identify a *municipium*'s 'civic cults'. Even if we have temples (e.g. at Aosta, Alba, Luna, Libarna), we are generally badly informed about the deities who were worshipped there. We also do not see the creation of toponymic deities that could have served to create an identity for the new *ciuitates*, comparable with Nemausus for Nemausus, Vasio for Vasio and Glanis for Glanum in Transalpine Gaul. And except perhaps for Savigliano, it is also difficult to identify extra-urban sanctuaries aiming at creating cohesion within a Roman-style *ciuitas*. In general, we should not overestimate the political rôle of local cults and sanctuaries (cf. Haeussler 2011).

Festus's definition (146L) of *municipalia sacra* is that they were those ancestral *sacra* (cults, deities or practices) that the community had before it acquired Roman citizenship, which implies that indigenous cults would continue regardless of the grants of Latin rights and Roman citizenship in 89 and 49 BC (cf. Ando 2012; Haeussler 2011). But the evidence suggests something quite different, as it is dominated by seemingly Roman deities, like Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Minerva, Hercules, Diana, Silvanus and many others. However, we should not assume that Diana and Silvanus were merely the gods of hunting and farming, and therefore popular in rural areas. Nor should we follow Caesar's description to the letter. It also appears that the Roman *pontifices* and the Senate did not constrain people's religious choices within the Italian *regiones IX* and *XI*. Nor do we find profoundly different choices in the Alpes Cottiae and Poeninae. Even in Cottius's capital, Segusio, Latin theonyms dominate, such as Jupiter, Hercules, Apollo, the *genius municipi Segusini*, *M(ercurius?)*, the *nymph(a)*e and only one Celtic theonym: Albiorix.

If Roman officials did not have much interest in introducing 'proper' Roman deities, then our major protagonists in this development must have been the local people and their choices. Local people reshaped their cults and myths when confronted with new ideas in an increasingly 'interconnected' world. By choosing elements from a 'global'

cultural repertoire, people created cults, myths and deities that were neither 'Roman' nor 'indigenous'. *Interpretatio* is a phenomenon of this 'global' world trying to overcome cultural differences. In an increasingly interrelated world—with a network of cities as cultural and cosmopolitan 'hubs'—people were confronted with new ideas that made them rethink their own religious understandings which could have triggered significant changes to local cults, both private and public. This results in an ever increasing diversification of cults, but also levels of 'standardisation': participating in a global and imperial discourse guided people's decisions. Besides the pragmatic need for a common linguistic and artistic language, religious expressions reflect how individuals and communities negotiated and displayed their place in a supra-ethnic myth, like one's position in relation to Homeric and Roman mythologies and choosing the Trojan hero Antenor for the Veneti or Hercules for Lepontii and Gauls; of course, in part this could reflect external Greco-Roman descriptions which might subsequently have been used by the 'conquered' to redefine their identities.

Considering that the Lepontic dedications from Cureggio, Briona and Vercellae already presented a new development in the early first century BC, notably the first phase of religious epigraphy, we might have expected to find more continuity and not the relatively standardised dedications to Roman deities with their typical Roman-style formula and Greco-Roman iconography. The *Matronae* and the few Celtic theonyms are a weak indicator of the persistence of 'native' cults or religious ideas in Northwest Italy. Did people in the Principate really distinguish between a 'Roman' Iuno and the 'native' *Matronae*? We need to understand what motivated people to choose Latin theonyms and Greco-Roman representations (cf. Haeussler 2012). An individual may just have considered a Latin theonym 'appropriate' for a Latin dedication; some might have intended to express their '*Romanitas*' or to use elaborate reliefs to teach the other local *cultores* Roman-style myths, cult practices and sacrifices. Then again, most inscriptions are personal ex-votos, and personal choices may poorly represent the official nature of a cult. Moreover, in a world where individuals expressed their identities by making use of a rather 'global' repertoire, such religious choices may not reflect conscious decisions to express one's Romanness. Finally we should take into account the relative rarity of epigraphic ex-votos and dedications in Northwest Italy which could also suggest that this medium was not considered important for expressing one's religiosity, i.e. most religious practices in pre-Roman times are not visible to us, and they might have continued to be similarly invisible in the Principate.

Religious developments work both ways. It is not just the 'natives' bringing their local cults into line with societal and cultural developments,

it is also the many colonists and immigrants who were faced with a new environment, new sacred places, cults and deities. By trying to make sense of local religions, a complex bilateral process was created. Despite the use of Latin epigraphy, we can see that the particular choices people made in each community and region very much seem to go back to specific geographic identities that we already recognised in pre-Roman times. Throughout this study, we have seen distinct areas (culturally, linguistically and in religion), and there seem to be significant differences between Liguria, especially the territory of the Bagienni, and the Transpadana, notably the Insubrian-Vertamocori domain. The popularity of Mercury, Hercules and the *Matronae* in the territory of the Vertamocorii and Insubres does not indicate that they were ‘polis deities’ for the *municipia* Novaria and Mediolanum, but the local populations’ diverging understandings. Altogether, local cults and religious understandings were strengthened: new Celtic epithets were added to express a local identity in a global world. Moreover, the meaning of existing cults and/or civic cults could be called into question by individuals who could set up new cults or import a cult from another part of the empire, like the ‘mystery cults’ of Mithras, Isis and Serapis.

5.6 DYNAMIC IDENTITIES OF SUBÉLITE CLASSES: EMULATION, ASSIMILATION AND CREOLISATION

So far we have seen the important rôle of municipal, equestrian and senatorial élites in introducing and articulating new cultural propositions, aspiring—to varying degrees—to the lifestyle and values of a pan-Italian élite and promoting ‘civilisation’ (*humanitas*) through the construction of towns, theatres and baths. We have seen them acting as *patroni* and *euergétes* in towns and across rural areas. But just how important were élite decisions in explaining the cultural identity of the subaltern classes in Northwest Italy in the Principate? Was ‘*Romanitas*’ merely an élite discourse, while the subaltern classes remained largely unaffected by cultural innovations? Or can we assume, as in the words of Ashcroft *et al.* (2009, 199), that the subaltern classes were ‘always subject to the activity of the ruling classes’ since they had ‘less access to the means by which they might have controlled their own representation, and less access to cultural and social institutions’? There were of course many personal ties between ‘élite’ and ‘lower classes’, especially the countless tenants who depended on large landowners or the rôle of élite members as patrons of local cults, institutions, guilds and colleges. But the subélite strata of society were not just on the recipient side. We have to focus on their creativity in expressing their identity and how they saw their place in the world. Subaltern ‘classes’ could even be considered crucial in pushing for social and cultural change: while the upper classes could be expected

to have been rather conservative since they aimed to consolidate their authority and therefore limit sociocultural change. It is the subaltern classes who took up new opportunities as mercenaries, legionaries, merchants and craftsmen and started a new life by migrating to another town or region. Since the turmoil of the late Republic, it must have been increasingly possible for some lower class individuals to acquire status and wealth outside traditional hierarchies. Subaltern classes also profited from the privileges of Roman citizenship, making possible an increasing individualisation of society in Northwest Italy. Theoretically, it must have been the many people from the subélite 'classes' whose actions provoked the sociocultural upheaval of the late first century BC.

Is it sufficient to explain the cultural developments by suggesting that the cultural paradigm set by the élite was *imitated* by the lower classes of society? Miller (1982), for example, describes *emulation* as a process by which cultural symbols of status were constantly modified: the use of prestige objects by subaltern classes obliged the élites to use even more prestigious and more elaborate artefacts in order to express their status. To some extent, this happened in the first century BC when grave goods and funerary rituals were getting increasingly elaborate since élites searched for new and more exclusive ways to demarcate themselves from the subélite classes. But emulation and *Romanitas* are two separate issues since emulation of élite lifestyle, behaviour and culture does not necessarily involve aspects of *internalisation* of a Roman identity and Roman behaviour: people imitated the élite, but they did not necessarily think of themselves as Romans or understand the original meaning of the objects, rituals, dress and customs they adopted. On the other hand, it is also possible that people resisted or rejected the lifestyle of the élites and their conspicuous displays of power, which was perhaps considered decadent by some. This can create a dialectic process, like creolisation. In addition, with the increasing interaction across Italy and the empire having led to a kind of global culture, people did not necessarily 'copy' the élites, but merely used the cultural repertoire easily available to them in their local context through a form of bricolage; in this way, people used available artefacts and media to express their own identity in a novel way.

The aim of this section is to look at some exemplary cases of different subélite groups. The problem we face is that we are not only dealing with a history written by Romano-centric sources, but also with an archaeology and epigraphy that primarily reveals élite activities while marginalising large sections of the society; notably subaltern classes in rural areas are hardly perceptible in the archaeological and epigraphic records. In an urban context, we can recognise the creation of some new social groups and behavioural patterns, such as craftsmen and merchants participating in the activities of local guilds. In a rural context, many people were

just as invisible as in the late Iron Age; but in the Canavese, for example, we can examine how people adapted Latin epigraphy and Roman onomastics to their own needs and perceptions. It is generally difficult to distinguish between people of indigenous origin and those with a migratory background: a name of Celtic origin might be the best indicator for an 'indigenous' origin, but people might equally have come from other parts of Cisalpine Gaul. Many people were motivated to migrate because it provided hope for upward social mobility: migration would have permitted individuals to acquire status, land and wealth beyond the limits of their local community, and the evidence suggests that status and rank were increasingly defined by Italic and Roman perceptions and concepts. If we accept this view, then the presence of *external* factors (e.g. *coloniae*, *fora* and the Roman army) could have provided opportunities to individuals who were submitted to a process of alienation from their own cultural traditions.

As we have already seen above Cisalpine towns with their multi-ethnic inhabitants provided important cultural and economic hubs that allowed for an intense exchange of new ideas, stimulating diverse cultural choices. The élite might have dominated the political scene, but the majority of inhabitants made their own choices, taking up new social and economic opportunities. In the urban environment, a process of differentiation of labour led to the emergence of new social groups in the early Principate, depending on status (freeborn, freedmen) and profession, such as craftsmen, sculptors and merchants. Every individual would try to find his place in the urban society, but some of these groups would also develop more formal structures of a 'guild' (*collegium*). Many people would aspire for membership of these prestigious institutions, resulting in people adhering to a particular code of conduct and displaying a particular identity. People also strived for 'success' which they displayed publically, for example in their elaborate funerary monuments. Even craftsmen and merchants 'emulated' élite behaviour, for example by acting as *euergétes* of their *collegium*.

Table 5.5 shows professions attested epigraphically in Northwest Italy, including merchants and a large number of craftsmen, like cobblers and keymakers. All of them were Roman citizens, including three *liberti*, except for one slave and probably one *peregrinus*: Batonus (*salaris* must have been his profession, not his *gentilicium*). This list is not representative as it only presents those subélite people who displayed their social status through Latin epigraphy. It shows us some of the successful people, some of whom were rather affluent, like Lucius Lupercus Exessus, a cloth merchant trading between Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul who was also *seuir Augustalis* of the *ciuitas Heluetiorum* and who bequeathed a large sum to the *municipium* Novaria (AE 2000, 632; 2003, 699; cf. Mennella

Table 5.5 List of trades and occupations attested in Northwest Italy (in addition to *fabri* and *centonarii*, cf. Table 5.2)

Trade	Name	Reference	Location
<i>Negotiator</i> , ‘merchant’	J Surix [—]	<i>ILV</i> 2, <i>CIL</i> V 8939	Vercellae
<i>Negotiator uestiar(i)</i>	L. Lupercus Exessus	<i>AE</i> 2003, 699	Fara Novarese (Novaria)
<i>Cisalpini et Transalpina</i> , ‘cloth merchant’			
<i>Merkator uinarius</i> , ‘wine merchant’	M. Lucretius Chrestus	<i>AE</i> 1960, 284	Pollentia
<i>Uestiarus</i> , ‘clothier’	Sulpicius Fuscus	<i>CIL</i> V 7378	Dertona
<i>Uestiarus</i> , ‘clothier’	Petronius Quartus	<i>CIL</i> V 7379	Dertona
<i>Uestiarus tenuarius</i> , ‘maker of light clothing’	M. Attius Patrobius	<i>CIL</i> V 6777	Eporedia
<i>Materiarius</i> , ‘timber merchant’	C. Curtius Valens, <i>libertus</i>	<i>CIL</i> V 7377	Dertona
<i>Marmorarius</i> , ‘worker in marble’	Q. Varius	<i>CIL</i> V 7670; <i>InscrIt</i> 9.1	Dogliani (Cuneo)
<i>Marmorarius</i> , ‘worker in marble’	T. Blandius Optatus	<i>AE</i> 1998, 634	Eporedia
<i>Refector pectinarius</i> , ‘comb maker’	T. Valerius Placidus	<i>CIL</i> V 7569 = <i>ILS</i> 7722	Hasta
<i>Sagarius</i> , ‘dealer in cloaks’	Quintius Quar[tus]	<i>CIL</i> V 6773	Lessona (near Biella)
<i>Salarius</i> , ‘spice merchant’	Batonus	<i>CIL</i> V 6670	Vercellae
<i>Sutor</i> , ‘cobbler’	C. Iulius Trophimus	<i>CIL</i> V 7265	Segusio
<i>Tesserarii lignarii</i> , ‘wood carver’s, <i>odalicii</i> <i>marmorariorum</i>	Antistia Delphidis, <i>liberta</i>	<i>AE</i> 2003, 774 Guillamón 2003, 170	Augusta Taurinorum
<i>Medagogus collegii</i> <i>fabrorum</i> , ‘isagogus/ instructor’	Q. Atilius Faustus	<i>AE</i> 1992, 633	Hasta
<i>Clauaria</i> , ‘key maker’	Cornelia Venusta, <i>liberta</i>	<i>CIL</i> V 7023 = <i>ILS</i> 7636	Augusta Taurinorum
<i>Clauarius</i>	P. Aebutius M. f. Stel.	<i>CIL</i> V 7023 = <i>ILS</i> 7636	Augusta Taurinorum
<i>Mensor</i> , ‘surveyor’	L. Aebutius, <i>libertus</i>	<i>AE</i> 1998, 598	Eporedia
<i>Mulio</i> , ‘muleteer’	Rinnius Novicius	<i>CIL</i> V 7837	Forum Germa()
<i>Nauta</i> , ‘sailor, marine’	C. Magius Gaiellus	<i>CIL</i> V 7679	Augusta Bagiennorum
<i>Piscatores</i> , ‘fishermen’	Maximus Teurius, <i>et alii</i> (cf. p. 287)	<i>CIL</i> V 7850	Pedona
<i>Dispensator</i> , ‘adminis- trator’	Urbanus Aponi, <i>seruus</i>	<i>CIL</i> V 7638; <i>InscrIt</i> 9.1, 168	Saluzzo (Cuneo)
<i>Medicus</i> , ‘physician’	C. Quintius Abas- cantus	<i>CIL</i> V 6970 = <i>ILS</i> 3855a	Augusta Taurinorum
<i>Medicus</i> , ‘physician’	Acron[—]	<i>CIL</i> V 7043	Augusta Taurinorum
<i>Medicus Aug[ustanus?]</i> <i>med(icus?)</i>	[Clodius] Acronus –	<i>InscrIt</i> 9.1, 27 Nenci 1952, 31–2	Cherasco (Cuneo) Demonte (Cuneo)

2000). Other people probably also made their wealth from long-distance trade, such as the *negotiator* Basilius in Eporedia who came from the *uicus* Atarca in Syria (CIL V 6812, *add.* p. 1088 = *InscrIt* 11.2, 58). Also the profession of *sagarius* ('dealer in cloaks/saga') does not necessarily have a local catchment area, as seen by the *negotiator sagario ex Apulia* in Mediolanum (CIL V 5925 = *ILS* 7578). There are only two women attested and both were *libertae* from Augusta Taurinorum: *Cornelia Venusta* was *clauarius*, 'keymaker', who after Guillaumón (2003, 171) might have concentrated on the sale of keys, not the fabrication, while Antistia Delphidis was *tesserarius lignarii (sodalicii marmorariorum)* 'wood carver' (cf. Guillaumón 2003, 170). The *medicis Taur(inis)* who made a dedication to Trajan were also *cultores* of Asclepius and Hygeia (CIL V 6970).

These inscriptions reflect the wealth and self-esteem that some subélite people had acquired during the Principate. A very vivid picture of people's identity is provided by the large number of bas-reliefs that show the deceased's trades and crafts, like a comb-maker, wheel-maker, a carpenter and textile producer (cf. Zimmer 1982). The scale and quality of these monuments show that we are dealing here with a small group of wealthy merchants and craftsmen (Figures 5.20–5.22). These bas-reliefs do not just imitate élite funerary *stele*, but the depictions for the various professions were new creations. This shows that we have to attribute a more active rôle to the less-privileged classes in society. The difference from the Iron Age period is striking. Never before in history can we find an expression



Figure 5.20 Transportation of wine on a stele from Bene, AD 50–100 (Zimmer 1982, no. 197; CIL V 7682).¹



Figure 5.21 Funerary stele of a comb-maker from Asti, second century AD (Zimmer 1982, no. 147; CIL V 7569).¹



Figure 5.22 Production and sale of drapery, AD 150–250. (Zimmer 1982, no. 41).¹

of the identity of merchants and craftsmen in Northwest Italy. This also shows that not only did the local aristocracies operate on an Italy-wide or empire-wide level, but that many *negotiatores*, craftsmen and legionaries equally relied on empire-wide networks and social hierarchies.

This leads us to forms of social organisation inside the towns, notably the various colleges. These *collegia* had very diverse functions (cf. Kloppenborg 1996; Liu 2008; 2009). Many of them were ‘guilds’, such as the *collegium centonarum*, ‘the guild of textile dealers’ (Liu 2009) and the *collegium fabrum*, i.e. of the *fabri*: smiths, builders and carpenters. Like many other *collegia*, the *collegium fabrum* only became common outside Rome from the late first century AD onwards (Liu 2008, 62). In Ticinum (Pavia), there was also a *collegium nautarum Ticinensium*, i.e. a guild of the local boatsmen (AE 1977, 327 = AE 1992, 792). In addition, there were religious colleges, like the *collegium pastophorum* for the Isis cult and the *collegium dendrophori* for the cult of Magna Mater (Cybele); the latter is rarely attested in Italy before the Flavian period. These seemingly religious institutions can be better described as ‘social clubs’ with dining and banqueting at the centre of activity (cf. Rüpke 2011; cf. papers in Lepetz and Van Andringa (eds) 2008, 119–23, 237–75). For members, these colleges must have been an important means of socialisation and networking, while all colleges appear to have been involved in religious matters. In this context, we also have to consider the *seuiri Augustales*, a college primarily consisting of wealthy freedmen whose primary function was not the imperial cult, judging from their activities; rather, the *seuiri Augustales* should be seen as a ‘dining club’ of municipal *euergétes* (Gradel 2002; Rüpke 2011). At Novaria, a *collegium iuuenum*, ‘a youth association’, probably for the public display of athletics (Crowther 2009), reflects a particular Greco-Roman lifestyle (also cf. such a college in Rome: e.g. AE 1927, 145). A similar college, the *collegium iuuenum Nemesiorum*, can be found

at Vintium (modern Vence) in the Alpes Maritimae, named after the goddess Nemesis (Pleket 1969). There may also be other guilds, clubs or funerary societies that are not attested epigraphically in Northwest Italy.

The three most widely attested *collegia*—both in our area of study and in the Roman West in general—are the *collegium fabrum*, *collegium centonarium* and the *collegium dendrophorum*, probably, as suggested by Liu (2008, 65), because they were directly or indirectly promoted by the authorities. Moreover, each college had its patron, like Alfius Follonis, *IVuir iure dicundo* from Novara, patron of two colleges (CIL V 6515 = *EpiNov* 39), or the equestrian Gaius Metilius Marcellinus who was patron of the *collegium centonarii* of Dertona and *patronus collegiorum omnium* at Forum Iuli Iriensium (CIL V 7375 = ILS 6744). One inscription even lists 14 patrons for the *collegium fabrum tignariorum* of Luna (CIL XI 1355a = ILS 7227; cf. Panciera 1981). Patrons might also have been responsible for the construction of ‘guild houses’. Besides the *schola* in Novaria (CIL V 6525 = *EpiNov* 49 = AE 1999, 768), a certain Marcus Septimius Argus furnished the *schola* of the local *collegium dendrophorum* of Hasta (*SuppIt* 10.H, 7 = AE 1990, 356). Here, we might be just dealing with wealthy guild members—and not necessarily with decurions, equestrians or senators—who displayed their euergetism.

These colleges provided an important framework for certain ‘middle class people’ who were motivated to become members by their wish to be socially accepted and to display their social and economic success. An important focus of these colleges was sociability and networking, for example through regular banquets and *symposia* (cf. Kloppenborg 1996). By participating in such ‘clubs’, members faced peer pressure on appropriate behaviour, dress code and rules of conduct. It also allowed members to demarcate themselves from other social groups in the *municipium* as they played an active rôle in the city’s social life, for example by participating in processions, by their philanthropy and their public involvement in religious dedications and honorary inscriptions (cf. Verboven 2009). Verboven (2009) very rightly stressed the importance of these ‘guilds’ in structuring local societies. Through *collegia* and other associations, people became integrated in institutions that were focussed on a hierarchical structure, providing a link between the lower classes (who were dependent on the *collegiati*) and the local municipal, equestrian and senatorial élites who acted as the college’s patrons.

Figure 5.23 shows a collective dedication by the fishermen around Pedona to their patron deity Neptune (c. mid-first century AD). The text and the choice of deity appear typical of a Latin inscription, but there are particularities. The layout of the inscription is characteristic of the Northwest with a depiction of the deity being surrounded by the text; it



Figure 5.23 Dedication to Neptune by the *piscatores*. (Height: 59.5 cm; Borgo Sam Dalmazzo)¹

Neptuno sac(rum)

Maximus Teurius

uicarius Metelae

Danius Carb()

⁵ *Vibius Velagenius Peda*

Parra Enicius

Miranius Carb()

Siluanus Velagenius Ebelin()

Lasser Metela Edanius Car()

¹⁰ *Maximus Minatius Carb()*

Secundus Enicius Parrae f(ilius) Barg()

piscatores l(ibentes) m(erito).

(CIL V 7850 = ILS 3287; this reading with seven dedicants by Mennella 1995, 261–3, no. 10)

also seems highly probable that this dedication reflects an indigenous religious context (cf. Mennella 1989; Giorcelli Bersani and Roda 1999, 114f). Also, the names of the dedicants are distinctive of Northwest Italy: the

‘*cognomen*’ has taken the place of the Roman *praenomen*; some names are Celtic (or ‘Ligurian’), while the name Enicius, for example, is typical of this part of Piedmont—probably a ‘deckname’—as we have already seen above in the case of the decurion Enicus (*v. supra*). The first dedicant was a *uicarius*, ‘deputy’, probably in charge of this (religious) association. Mennella (1995) suggests that his name was not only Maximus Teurius, but Maximus Teurius *uicarius* Metelae Danius Carb(), consisting of *praenomen*, *gentilicium*, activity, *cognomen* and *origo*. Placing the profession between *gentilicium* and *cognomen* is, however, rather unusual. His *origo* could be *Carbantia*, a Celtic toponym mentioned on the *Itinerarium Antoninum* (340.4), probably located near Villanova Monferrato or Bälzola (Alessandria), i.e. near the lower Tanaro River. The importance of people’s *origo* in this inscription might imply that this ‘association’ covered fishermen from a large section of internal Liguria: after all, Pedona is situated on a river that becomes the Tanaro, crossing Liguria from west to east, before joining the river Po.

Across Liguria and Transpadana, we also find inscriptions attesting a *plebs urbana* (cf. Table 5.6). The *plebs* is of course a concept tied to the social stratification in Rome herself, reflecting the historic conflict between plebeians and patricians. The presence of *plebs urbana* and *plebs rustica* all over Northwest Italy therefore seems surprising at first glance. It seems that the *plebs urbana* acquired a new identity in the early Principate as the collective of the 35 voting-tribes, as in this dedication from Rome (AD 23): *pleps urbana quinque et triginta tribuum Druso Caesari Ti(beri) Aug(usti) f(ilio) (. . .)* (CIL VI 31198b = ILS 168). And since all Roman citizens in Italy were assigned to one of the thirty-five *tribus*, they seem to constitute this enlarged *plebs* of the Principate (cf. Rowe 2002, 85–101 for the *plebs urbana* in the politics of the early Principate). In Northwest Italy, the local *plebs* appear as a legal body that engaged in similar collective activities as the *collegia*, notably financing honorary dedications to local benefactors and patrons as well as dedications to the princes:

P(ublio) Muc(io) P(ubli) fil(io) | Pub(lilia) Vero | equiti Romano | equo publico | patrono municipii | trib(uno) leg(ionis) III Gallic(ae) | censori | prouinc(iae) Thraciae | ciui optimo | semper pro municip(um) | incolumitat(e) sollicit(o) | plebs urbana.

(CIL V 7784 = *SuppIt* 4.A, 8)

This case shows an honorary dedication of the *plebs urbana* of Albingaunum to the local *ciuius optimus*. In the Principate, the princeps acquired the position as the ultimate patron of the *plebs* due to his tribunician power. In this rôle, he is also seen as helping the unprivileged classes in Italy, as in the case of the orphan schemes—the *alimentarii*

Table 5.6 Epigraphic attestations of *plebs* and *collegia* in Northwest Italy

	<i>Plebs Urbana</i>	<i>Plebs Coloniae</i>	<i>Plebs Rustica</i>	<i>Collegium Fabrorum</i>	<i>Collegium Centonatorum</i>	<i>Collegium Dendrophorum</i>	<i>Collegium Iuuenum</i>	Unknown Collegium
LIGURIA								
Albenga	V 7780 V 7782 V 7784 XI 1337 V 7425	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - XI 1355; AE 1983, 390 -	- - - -	- -	- -	- - - - AE 1998, 516
Vardagate Dertona	- AE 1973, 239	- V 7376	- -	- V 7375; AE 1999, 651 <i>Supplt</i> 17.FF, 6	V 7452 AE 1999, 651	- -	- -	- AE 2007, 564
Forum Fulvii	-	-	-	<i>Supplt</i> 17.FF, 6	<i>Supplt</i> 17.FF, 6	-	-	-
Hasta	-	-	-	V 7555; AE 1992, 633; AE 1992, 640	-	AE 1990, 356	-	-
Alba Pompeia	<i>Supplt</i> 17.AP, 3 V 7482; 7478; AE 1994, 638 <i>Supplt</i> In 6 AE 1994, 1139	- - - -	- V 7482 - -	- V 7469 7470 -	V 7595 V 7485	- -	- -	AE 1997, 537 -
Industria-Bodincomagus								
Forum Germa		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pollentia	-	-	-	V 7618; AE 2002, 488	V 7618?	V 7617, 7618	-	-

(Continued)

Table 5.6 (Continued)

	<i>Plebs Urbana</i>	<i>Plebs Coloniae</i>	<i>Plebs Rustica</i>	<i>Collegium Fabrorum</i>	<i>Collegium Centonariorum</i>	<i>Collegium Dendrophorum</i>	<i>Collegium Iuuenum</i>	<i>Unknown Collegium</i>
Augusta	-	-	-	AE 2002, 500	-	-	-	<i>Inscrit</i> 9.1, 25
Bagiennorum								
TRANSPADANA								
Augusta	V 7038	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Taurinorum	V 7041							
Eporedia	V 6797 = <i>In- scrit</i> 11.2, 23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Augusta Praetoria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vercellae	V 6667	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Novaria	-	-	-	-	V 6515	-	V 6515	-
ALPES COTTIAE								
Segusio	-	-	-	-	V 7263	-	-	-

pueri et puellae—originally initiated by Nerva and paid for by the local landowners (Aur. Vict. *ep.* 12; Cass. Dio 68.5.4; cf. Garnsey and Woolf 1989). A bronze tablet from Veleia, situated just east of our area of study, documents the financial arrangements for the region of Veleia and Libarna under Trajan (CIL XI 1147 = ILS 6675; Woolf 1990b; Criniti 1991). From a Roman point of view, social integration, i.e. the pacification of the *plebs* and conflict prevention, was achieved by the active incorporation into Roman-style cults, *collegia* and festivals as well as by propagating the advantages of Roman rule for the lower classes, such as the possibilities of social advancement and prosperity. The dedications to the princeps by the local *plebs* shows how subaltern classes also participated in an imperial discourse with an empire-wide hierarchisation of social status that defined the relationship between the various social groups in Roman Italy.

Nevertheless, we have to come back to the individual and his/her identity. Again, it is the funerary context which provides important insights. It seems that both élites and subélites had the wish to commemorate their lives and achievements for posterity in this rapidly changing world, and the countless burial places and *stelae* constructed in people's lifestyle—*uiuius fecit*—clearly demonstrate people's wish for commemoration. Funerary evidence provides the best insight into people's self-expression, their identity and afterlife beliefs through dress, grave goods and rituals. Though we can hardly distinguish people's 'ethnicity' by their dress, the onomastic evidence from most towns attests many people with Celtic names, thus probably 'autochthonous' people. The urban community with its social groups and aspirations had largely dismantled previous forms of social relations. For example, in many parts of Liguria, regular burials remain rare down to the first century BC, so that the new visibility of subélite people in the urban cemeteries of the Principate reflect a rather radical modification of people's societal, cultural and religious behaviour. In the Transpadana, the large urban necropoleis contrast with the series of short-lasting, small-scale rural sites which seemed typical of the La Tène period (cf. De Marinis 1977, 22, 33). The break and dislocation of burial grounds appears relatively abrupt in many parts of Northwest Italy, while only some 'rural' Iron Age cemeteries (e.g. in Oleggio, Gravellona Toce or in the Lomellina) provide us with more gradual developments. As we have seen in the Lomellina, more and more people acquired wealth after 100 BC allowing for more 'conspicuous' displays in a funerary context so that choices reflected the wishes of an increasing number of people to display their status by luxurious grave goods and elaborate funerary rituals. But while our Iron Age cemeteries were usually rather remote from the settlement, the urban necropolis provides a different scenario: the location along a town's arterial roads indicates the possible

audience for tombstones, making visible municipal hierarchies, showing off people's wealth and their ability to buy a plot of land in a prominent position. In such a context, there is of course also an enormous pressure for particular forms and behaviour regarding rituals, forms of funerary stele, tomb construction, etc. Like other tombstones of merchants and craftsmen (*v. supra*), the elaborate second-century tombstone of the shoemaker Marcus Clodius Maximus and his freedman Quadratus from Vercellae clearly emulates contemporary elite tombstones, perhaps reflecting Maximus's aspirations (*ILV* 16 = *AE* 1998, 598) (Figure 5.24).

As for urbanisation, the beginning of these urban cemeteries usually dates relatively late. The earliest tombs at Hasta, for example, can be identified by rare fragments of late *vernice nera*, early *terra sigillata* and Republican coinage, providing a *tpq* of 47–46 BC. In the first century AD, the characteristic range of objects consisted of *terra sigillata*, oil lamps, mirrors (in female graves), coins, glass and locally produced *olpai*. The grave goods of Tomb 4 at Hasta are typical: glass *balsamario*, bronze coin and coarse ware pottery. The mid-first century AD Tomb 7 at Forum Fulvii shows the popularity of glass as grave good: glass flask, glass amphora and five glass balm vessels. A similar range



Figure 5.24 Tombstone of a shoemaker from Vercellae: *M(arcus) Clodius M(arci) f(ilius) Maxumus | caligarius sibi et Quadrato l(iberto) | suo [test]amento fieri iussit* (*ILV* 16; *AE* 1998, 598).¹

of objects has been found at the cemetery of Pollentia—in use from the first years AD (Mosca 1962)—while the epigraphic evidence from Pollentia and its territory includes Celtic onomastic elements and non-Roman monuments. The importance of the *medicus* in the society of the Principate is not only seen in the epigraphic record (*v. supra*), but also in funerary assemblages with medical and pharmaceutical instruments (e.g. Tomb 14 at Forum Fulvii: Zanda 1994a). The choice of grave goods is above all a bricolage of artefacts that were considered appropriate: glass vessels, for example, replaced many other prestige goods in the Principate. But can we talk about the same mentalities considering the presence of Charon coins, ointment jars and oil lamps—or a more profound process, reflecting Roman afterlife beliefs? Compared to the grave goods, the rituals show the ‘creolisation’ of Italo-Roman and local traditions. Even in a rural context, as in Oleggio, we recognise the gradual adoption of some aspects of the *mos romanus* (Spagnolo Garzoli (ed) 1999, 52–3), like the use of amphorae to enclose parts of the funerary goods and the cremated remains (also cf. Brecciaroli Taborelli 2000 for the funerary practices and grave goods at the rural cemetery of Biella between the first and fourth centuries AD). But in general, it is difficult to recognise any standardised ‘Roman’ type of funerary custom in Northwest Italy in the Principate. The most common and typical funerary rites were indirect cremation in a trench and—less frequent—deposition of the cremation in an amphora, in a box of tiles or direct cremation.

All this shows that the individual urban dweller was faced with a web of social relations and interdependencies, from civic and religious institutions to the various ‘guilds’, developing individual identities and codes of behaviour for decurions, freedmen, craftsmen, merchants and other social groups. As a result, it is not the opposition between Roman and native that is important, but a process of demarcating oneself from other social groups in the urban context and from the rural population (Figure 5.25). Differences in material culture largely reflect ‘class’ distinctions rather than cultural retardation or resistance. In modern contexts of urbanisation, one can recognise similar processes of identity creation and bricolage, similar to the kind of urban class identity which was expressed in nineteenth-century Calcutta by the use of British artefacts and their imitations (Furedy 1979). This raises the question of whether Roman material culture of the urban *plebs* and middle classes had anything to do with a particularly Roman identity or whether it was merely appropriate for expressing one’s group identity in a town through a range of mostly mass-produced objects of the ‘globalising’ culture of the Principate. In a way, we are dealing with a combination of bricolage,



Figure 5.25 One of the many elaborate funerary monuments of freedmen commemorating Gaius Fulvius Philologus, freedman of Gaius, his freeborn wife Pulfennia Sabina, daughter of Titus and his freeborn son Gaius Fulvius Sabinus of the Pollia voting-tribe; from Cunico (Asti), later half of first century AD (*CIL* V 7462; *ILS* 6748; *AE* 1998, 516; from Terruggia/Vardagate).¹

emulation and globalisation, though we should not ignore the fact that certain subélite people bought into Roman-style *humanitas*, acting as benefactor and setting up dedications to the emperor.

Rural Context

The evidence from rural areas is different, although many structures are comparable to urban centres. The countryside is dominated by the residences of municipal élites and most inscriptions relate to local landowners and the people dependent on them, notably their slaves and *liberti*, while most tenant farmers escape our record. Besides the élite residences, shrines and sanctuaries (like the Diana sanctuary at Savigliano) provide focus points for the rural population as places of gathering, creating collective identities where traditional cognitive (behavioural) models could be re-enacted and/or new models introduced. The epigraphic evidence largely reflects an élite-dominated patronage network with numerous dedications to local *patroni*, for example to the *patronus ciuitatis* at the village of Corneliano (Cuneo, *InscrIt* 9.1, 153). The *uilicus* (or *uilicus*) was a slave that managed an estate, as in the case of Eyafeus from Occimiano (*CIL* V 7449 = *SuppIt* 13.V, 4) and the freedman from Susa, *[u]ilicus summ(arum) Segusione* (*CIL* V 7264); Hilario, *uilicus magister*, was responsible for stone quarries at Luna (AD 22; *CIL* V 1356). In addition, we find many veteran soldiers in the rural context, such as the

miles cohortis VIII praetoria, Lucius Flavius Superus, in the small village of Monta near San Stefano Belbo (Cuneo, *CIL* V 7594, *InscrIt* 9.1, 158), the legionary Valerius Secundus at Vicus (Vicoforte, Cuneo, *InscrIt* 9.1, 78), or the *miles* Marcus Valerius from Mombarcaro (Cuneo, *AE* 1991, 732). These veterans are also active in rural areas, like the *ueteranus Augusti*, Quintus Valerius Secundus, who made a dedication to Mars at Occhieppo (*ILV* 103). Some of them were soldiers returning home to Cisalpine Gaul, while others were of provincial origin, like the *miles cohortis III Britannorum*, Catavignus, son of Ivomagus (Bene, *CIL* V 7717).

At Dogliani (Cuneo), we find three generations of the same family, commemorating Albius Severus as *miles leg(ionis) Italicae* (*CIL* V 7667, *InscrIt* 9.1, 47). But Dogliani reminds us of the extent to which the governing classes dominated the rural evidence: there is a *pontifex Augustae Bagiennorum* and *seuir Augustalis Pollentiae* (*CIL* V 7670; *InscrIt* 9.1, 46) as well as the *Augustalis* Gaius Annius Celer (*CIL* V 7669; *InscrIt* 9.1, 48). But not far away at Breolungi (Cuneo), we find a different situation where epigraphy is used to record names and not titles and achievements: altogether 10 inscriptions record names, mostly Latin names and *tria nomina*, and only one title: *seuir* (*InscrIt* 9.1, 63, 65–74); names like Velagostius Modestus and Gaius Viccius Narcissus contain Celtic elements (cf. Holder III 141; III 276–7). In other words, different people made different choices, and the local situations at Dogliani and Breolungi stimulated diverging uses of epigraphy.

The rural population was also integrated into certain collective structures, like the *plebs rustica*, the *pagus* and *uicus*. But epigraphic attestations of a *plebs rustica* are extremely rare and the only attestation in Northwest Italy comes from a town, Bodincomagus-Industria (*CIL* V 7482). Other forms of rural self-administration are equally rare, but this is largely due to the epigraphic habit. There are a number of *pagi* and *pagani*, like the dedication of the *pagani Agamini* from Sizzano (Novara, *CIL* V 6587) and the above-mentioned *magistra pagi* from the Diana sanctuary in Savigliano. In this way, new forms of social organisation could have been created in the Principate which were dominated by local élites. There were also a number of *uicani*, ‘villagers’, suggesting forms of social organisation distinct from the decurions of the *civitas*, like the *uikani Segusinis* in the Alpes Cottiae (Segusio, *CIL* V 7261). There is also a dedication by the *uicus Baginas* to Victoria at Bastita (Bastia, Cuneo, *InscrIt* 9.1, 59); and at Terruggia/Occimiano (Vardagate), the *uicani* from Iadate (*uicanis Iadatinis*) were bequeathed 400 sesterces to lay down roses annually at the tomb of the *quattuoruir* Marcus Sullius Marcellus (*CIL* V 7450 = *AE* 1998, 516), highlighting once more people’s relationship to the local landowner and *patronus*. As in other parts of Italy and the Roman empire, we can assume a gradual concentration

of land holding by a few members of the aristocracy (cf. Alcock 1993, 91 for Archaeia); this does not contradict the rarity of villa sites in the western Cisalpina since most people continued to live in villages (Polybios's *komai*). Also, Trajan's *tabula alimentaria* from Veleia shows that small and medium-sized farms continued to exist, though more than 300 farms were owned by fewer than 50 owners in the early second century AD (*CIL* XI 1147 = *ILS* 6675): in our area of study, a *fundus* is explicitly attested at Alba Pompeia (*AE* 1999, 676). Given that rural sites become archaeologically more visible in the Principate, it is difficult to assess the extent of demographic change and changes in land tenure systems in Northwest Italy.

The image of a rural population strongly integrated into élite-dominated structures is largely due to our archaeological and epigraphic sources which make it difficult to identify subélite people in a rural context. But there are certain areas that provide examples of an active and creative rural population, notably in the Canavese and the Cuneese. In numerous villages across the Canavese, a number of people used Latin epigraphy and adapted it to their own needs. Their use of Latin was very different from the 'standardised' epigraphic repertoire that dominated in the neighbouring cities at that time (cf. catalogue by Cresci Marrone 1991a; 2008; *TROS* refers to inscription number). We can recognise the different choices that people made, combining indigenous and Roman cultural/linguistic elements and creating something new in a form of bricolage or creolisation. This does not happen in a remote or marginal area of Cisalpine Gaul since the Canavese is the highly centuriated plain situated between the colonies Eporedia and Augusta Taurinorum and between the river Po and the foothills of the Alps (cf. Fraccaro 1957b; Inaudi 1976; Paoletti 1984; Tozzi 1980). We can therefore expect tensions between settlers and autochthonous people. Expropriation and land redistribution must have been unavoidable factors of life for the people during the triumviral and Augustan veteran settlements. A very similar scenario can be recognised in the equally heavily centuriated Cuneese, the ancient land of the Bagienni which had been divided up into the territories of Pollentia, Augusta Bagiennorum, Pedona and Forum Germa (cf. study by Mennella 1983; Negro Ponzi Mancini 1980; 1981).

The epigraphic and onomastic habits of both regions show certain similarities. Religious dedications, euergetism or honorary inscriptions are virtually absent. Latin was primarily employed for funerary monuments. Most texts are short with hardly any kind of additional ornamentation or decoration, inscribed in rough letters on the uneven surfaces of irregular stones, notably the *pietre fluvali* (river stones) in the Cuneese which were often taller than one metre. These stones are difficult to carve and it therefore may not be a surprise that the text was minimised, making arbitrary divisions of words and using the archaic forms of the letters E and F because they are simpler to carve.

There is a certain notion of a Roman-style name with *tria nomina* and filiation, though the majority of inscriptions do not follow the practice of nearby urban communities. Dating these inscriptions is difficult, but archaic forms, single names and Celtic onomastics do not necessarily imply a date prior to the Augustan period. In any case, at the time of the inscriptions the inhabitants must have been enfranchised since 49 BC, despite the rarity of the typical *tria nomina* of a Roman citizen. Throughout, we can recognise a certain non-Roman character. In the Canavese, contrary to common Latin usage, most names are in the nominative, instead of the dative (e.g. TROS nos. 1–6), and only few make use of Roman formulae or abbreviations. *Cittius*, *T[e]rti f(ilius)* (TROS no. 54) and *Macco*, *Duci f(ilius)* (TROS no. 1) are examples of single names with Celtic filiation. We can recognise various onomastic creations: there are Celtic names, Celto-Latin mixtures, single names and *tria nomina*, with or without filiation. Single Celtic names are rare (TROS nos. 1, 54, 56), but names of Celtic origin are frequently inserted into Roman forms. They reflect the creation of a new onomastic culture by a process of ‘creolisation’. Most notably, an indigenous “*cognomen*” takes the position of the Latin *praenomen*, as in *Diutto Allius L(uci) f(ili)*, freely combining Latin and Celtic elements (TROS no. 4). In this case, it is interesting that the father had a Latin *praenomen*, Lucius, while the son had a Celtic *cognomen*, Diuttus (Delamarre 2003, 190). We also find these Celtic *cognomina* combined with a Celtic filiation, as in Mocetius Pontius, son of Ivantugenus (TROS no. 27) (Figure 5.26), Veconus Lulonium, son of Carantus at Rossana (Cuneo) (AE 1991, 733; *SuppIt* 13.F, 15) and *Disius Pramanius Momi f(ilius)* from Rifreddo (Cuneo) (*SuppIt* 16.FV, 7 = AE 1991, 735). Sometimes this filiation was inserted in a Roman-style *tria nomina*, such as *V(ibi)us Aniuius Auci f(ilius) Moctius* from Pagno (CIL V 7638 = *InscrIt* 9.1, 164; V 7639), *Vibius Veamonius Iemmi fil(ius) Gallus* and his wife *Mocca Enmania* from Bovixium (modern Boves, *InscrIt* 9.1, 91) as well as *Enica Comiogia, Neu(i) f(ilia)* from Verzuolo (CIL V 7641) and *Tertia Dometia*, daughter of Maco (TROS no. 61; Figure 5.27). Other interesting examples are Boduac(us) Treitiac (perhaps *Tritogeno*, ‘Troisième-Né?’) from Bannetae (modern Beinette, Cuneo: CIL V 7729, *InscrIt* 9.1, 86; Delamarre 2003, 81, 302) or Nevius Mearius and his wife Velacosta Velaiunia at Pedona (CIL V 7853, *InscrIt* 9.1, 94; Delamarre 2003, 235, 310). In addition, people expressed their local identity by using a *cognomen* of Celtic origin, as in *M. Aebutius, Spuri f(ilius)*, *Macco* (TROS no. 2), *Pinaria C(ai) f(ilia) Coemia* (TROS no. 15) or *Sariena Sex(ti) f(ilia) Maca* (TROS no. 78).

This large variety of onomastic choices does not mean that people were not aware of their status as Roman citizens. At Centallo (Cuneo), for example, near the site of a late Iron Age cemetery and a first-century AD settlement, we find a certain *Mocus Caranius Neu(i) f(ilius) Pol(lia)*, who indicated his Roman citizenship with the *tribus Pollia*, but he did



Figure 5.26 Inscription of Celtic name *Mocetius* with patronymic ‘son of Ivantugenus’.¹



Figure 5.27 Inscription of *Tertia Dometia, Maconis filia* from Valperga (Canavese) (TROS no. 61).¹

not use the typical *tria nomina* and clearly preferred names of local (Celtic) origin (CIL V 7656; cf. Delamarre 2003, 227, 235; ‘Ligurian’ *Moc-o(n)* for Holder II 603–4). At Centallo, it is surprising how many people indicated the *tribus Pollia* on inscriptions, probably as a sign of citizenship. At Montaldo di Mondovì, the site of a pre-Roman hilltop site (cf. Venturino Gambari 1991a–b), *tria nomina* stands side by side with seemingly peregrine names, such as *Tretius Aleboni f(ilius)*, which can hardly be explained by a difference in status such a long time after the citizenship grant, but by the wish to display different cultural identities. We should not assume that these single names with Celtic filiation are merely the first phase, progressively leading to the adoption of Latin onomastics and Roman-style *tria nomina*. Instead there seems to be a strong ‘indigenous’ element from the first to the third century AD.

Altogether it seems that urban culture, urban lifestyle and political aspirations did not have the same motivational force to guide people’s behaviour in rural areas compared to the cities, despite the presence of élite residences. Latin epigraphy, names and language were not just ‘copied’, but new forms were created. The inscriptions from the Canavese show a number of local characteristics that make up a local ‘epigraphic culture’. This includes the choice of the support for the inscriptions: stones of irregular and diverse forms and dimensions, without any idea of symmetric disposition or search for a uniform exterior appearance (Culasso Gastaldi 1988) (e.g. Figure 5.28).



Figure 5.28 Funerary stele of *Atilia Seuerina Firmi l(iberta)* from Valperga (Canavese) *u(ixit) a(nnos) LV* (TROS no. 53).¹

There are some examples of iconic decoration, like the marble stele from San Ponso: *Secundin[a] Aebutia t(itulum) p(osuit)* (TROS no. 35) and attempts to reproduce the image of the deceased (Figure 5.29) (cf. TROS nos. 5, 14, 22, 35; Barocelli 1930, 66–7). There are also some *stelae* which seem to combine Roman and native features, for example the first-century AD stele from Corio and another *one* with clear ‘native’ influence from Prascorsano (both in the Canavese) (Cima 1991, 109) (Figures 5.30–5.31).



Figure 5.29 Stele from Cirie (Canavese, Turin): *Cimon[ia] | Tertia f(ilia) | Secunda* (TROS no. 5).¹



Figure 5.30 Funerary stele of Secundina Aebutia from San Ponso (Canavese) (TROS no. 35).¹



Figure 5.31 Gallo-Roman stele from Prascorsano (Canavese) with clear 'Celtic' influences (Cima 1991, 109).¹

A particularity of the Canavese, is the frequent expression *u(ixit) a(nnos)* which is followed by a fairly high age: 80 or 90 years are not exceptional (Table 5.7). These biblical ages stand in stark contrast to the Roman epigraphic habit in Northwest Italy in which ages are hardly ever recorded. Considering the rough estimates of age, it seems possible that age was an important indication of social status in local society. But if we take into account the colonial context and the threat of dispossession in a highly centuriated area, the majority of these *stelae* may have also served to demarcate a claim of property within a landscape dominated by Roman colonies, and the elevated age of the deceased might reflect the great age of the claim (cf. Cresci Marrone 2008).

The Canavese was no cultural or economic backwater. Valperga and Cuorné are the two largest late Iron Age settlements known so far (Cima 1991), and certainly Valperga was also a significant settlement in the Principate (Cima 1991, 112–4). At Valperga, Latin epigraphy became more common than in any other neighbouring village, but Latin epigraphy was only one element in people's identity. Other cultural choices at Valperga show that the typical 'Roman' artefacts are rare (some *terra sigillata* of the first century AD and a glass bowl), while the material culture is largely dominated by locally produced pottery.

Table 5.7 Distribution of ages on funerary inscriptions in the Canavese (# refers to the number of inscription in the catalogue by Cresci Marrone and Culasso Gastala (eds) 1991)

	Cirié	Favria	Levone	Rivara	Rivarolo	San Benigno	San Ponso	Valperga
100						#32		
91								#80
90			#18				#47	#84
81		#8						
80			#15,20				#66	
75				#23				
73							#38	
65		#9	#11	#22				
60		#7						#55
55								#53,58
50					#28			
45			#13					
40		#10	#14,17					
30	#3							
6			#16					

Compared to towns, there was probably less necessity to adapt to a particular lifestyle and learn new languages or behavioural models, but even in a rural context we find centres where people’s self-representation was under similar external constraints, for example in *uici* and rural sanctuaries. We should not forget the extent to which people were participating in the same economic system as their landlords and town dwellers. There must have been great constraints to produce a surplus, perhaps only to pay one’s rent. Many people had to find niches to produce a surplus by specialising in certain crops; this specialisation in turn implies that people had to buy basic articles at a market, perhaps even clothing and pottery. In this respect it is surprising that material culture of the subaltern rural classes was dominated by locally produced coarse ware with some forms going back to pre-Roman times—even in the Canavese where people adopted and adapted Latin epigraphy.

Résumé

Never before were there so many subélite people of various origins who could represent their identity, like the many traders, craftsmen and veterans whose wealth can be seen in their sumptuous tombstones. This was a process that started in the late Iron Age with more and more people displaying their status in a funerary context. But with the widespread urbanisation in the triumviral and Augustan periods, urbanism was a

significant feature that profoundly changed the lifestyles of many subaltern people. Many people left their rural homes to make a living in the prosperous cities of Cisalpine Gaul. Urbanism catalysed the differentiation of labour, creating highly specialised jobs and crafts. In addition, some subaltern people had supra-regional connections, like the veteran soldiers and the merchants who traded across Italy or across the Alps. Most city dwellers were able to use the cultural elements at hand to shape their identity, lifestyles and aspirations by a process of bricolage.

But people did not develop their identity in isolation. There were social and economic dependencies, but more importantly, subaltern people participated and experienced urban life, like the various public and religious performances as well as the decurions' display of authority, status and *humanitas*. There was also the élite's conspicuous consumption for which many subélite people were catering to by providing food, wine, artefacts, manpower, etc; in return, many élites acted as patrons for the *plebs* and local associations. With the local *plebs urbana* making dedications to the princeps, we can gain an awareness of how some people saw their place in the world. All this provides the setting for subaltern classes to act in, partly pressured to integrate and to adopt appropriate behaviour for their status, gender and profession. But there must have been a certain degree of direct knowledge of the meaning of artefacts, behaviour and rituals associated with the élites, resulting in processes of emulation; some subaltern people acquired so much wealth that they adopted élite culture, like elaborate funerary *stelae* and *mausolea*. But emulation also created a movement from below, making élites react by adopting ever more exclusive forms of status display. And with veterans' first-hand knowledge of Roman generals, élites might have been pressured into excelling in their '*Romanitas*'. But there were also the processes of 'creolisation' and 'mimicry': people did not just passively adopt urban culture or copy it, but they were involved in an active process that gave new meaning to élite culture.

The rural dwellers in the countryside may appear more marginalised. Most rural people were inserted into Roman concepts of private property, making most of them dependent on local landlords. But despite the presence of decurions and veterans all over the countryside, we have seen the diverse cultural choices people could make: inscriptions in the Canavese and Cuneese, for example, reflect a more dynamic, more original and perhaps more meaningful use of epigraphy compared to the rather standardised inscriptions in many towns where Roman traditions provided norms of social expression and social representation in the first and second centuries AD; status was defined by age, not by the Roman success model (cf. Haeussler 1998b). To this we can add the strong identity of the Vertamocori that persisted from the Iron Age to the Principate,

creating a sense of local identity that included Celtic onomastics and particular religious choices. The material culture of many subaltern people appears limited to locally produced pottery whose forms and techniques had hardly changed since the late Iron Age, partly an economic choice for people whose financial resources were limited (and not cultural resistance).

NOTES

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CHAPTER SIX



Conclusions: ‘Becoming Roman’ in Northwest Italy?

We set out to gain a better understanding of what motivated people in Northwest Italy to become Roman. But as we have seen, ‘becoming Roman’ was not an issue for most people and even members of the ‘élites’ had very diverse views on élite lifestyle and identity. A large variety of strategies was open to people in Northwest Italy. The available strategies changed significantly between the conquest in 222/194 BC and the Principate. People’s choices depended on a number of variables, notably their experience of external factors: like the framework created by Roman imperialism and policies, such as colonies and taxes; the exclusion from and inclusion into Roman citizenship; Rome’s capacity to integrate its ‘allies’; the nature and scale of people’s participation in Roman warfare; Italy-wide economics and social relations; as well as their participation in the various imperial, colonial, legal and global discourses which promoted Roman benevolence, superiority, justice and civilisation.

But we should not ignore endogenous developments, many of which had started prior to the Roman conquest and became realigned or catalysed afterwards, like state-formation processes, social diversification, coinage and monetisation, epigraphy and literacy as well as the revival of (proto)urbanism—some of these processes could already be identified in the early Iron Age. The conquest itself did not provide a significant break in cultural developments, and local (‘indigenous’) mentalities, conventions, ideologies, and beliefs only changed slowly and continued to shape people’s decisions to a varying degree. Still in the Principate, we can find traces of Iron Age artefacts and rituals as well as Celtic onomastics. Between the second and first centuries BC, most activities took place

Becoming Roman? Diverging Identities and Experiences in Ancient Northwest Italy by Ralph Haeussler, 305–322. ©2013 Left Coast Press, Inc. All rights reserved.

within the pre-existing sociocultural understandings, but an increasing number of people took advantage of those Roman features that allowed them to improve their status, bypass local hierarchies, leave the constraints of their local community and acquire wealth and prominence. This created tensions in the local societies—tension that was creative, giving rise to new societal structures, behavioural models and cultural representations. Only at the end of a long process can we recognise more profound social and cultural changes with local people increasingly participating in Italy-wide socioeconomics and focussing on Rome.

We should not over-estimate the rôle of imperialism and colonisation in initiating or forcing integration and sociocultural change. Most changes in Northwest Italy took place in a situation after the block grants of Roman citizenship (90/49 BC) when the tax burden was low and people had equal rights, just like other Roman citizens in Rome and Italy. In a society in which people were constrained by many ‘traditions’, aiming to create ‘conformity’, the individual needed a considerable stimulus to break the norms and introduce new ideas, use new status symbols and adopt new behaviour. Participation and integration in a complex, strongly hierarchised society and in Italy-wide affairs are an important motivational factor for innovation. By contrast, imperialism, colonisation and exploitation can be counterproductive and generate resistance to integration and cultural change.

In the Republic, we have seen a very dynamic picture of sociocultural change, but most of the changes took place within the existing autochthonous structures of local society. Élités across Northwest Italy employed a number of strategies aimed at consolidating their authority. One result was the creation of much stronger local identities in this nominally ‘Roman period’ (compared to the marginal cultural outcome of the so-called Celtic invasion in Northwest Italy), while Rome appears to have been at the periphery of these developments down to the early first century BC. For example, the ‘Celticisation’ of the Padane drachma’s iconography and the use of Lepontic legends in the second and early first centuries BC reflect mentalities and rationalities different from contemporary Italo-Roman understandings. Also in material culture, typical Iron Age artefacts remained not only popular, but highly valued, like the *vasi a trottole*, painted La Tène pottery (cf. e.g. Tizzoni 1991) as well as indigenous dress. We have also seen the continued importance of cultural models going back to Golasecca times, for example in funerary rituals (e.g. *cassetta litica*), necklaces and pottery styles. Altogether, one might consider these developments to be a conscious expression of people’s ‘Otherness’ in response to Roman imperialism. But this does not mean that people saw themselves as ‘Celts’. On a more ‘subconscious’ level, people might have had a preference for ‘traditional’ cultural elements

because pre-Roman cultural cognitions by and large persisted and people used rituals and artefacts that were readily available and meaningful. At the La Tène cemetery of Dormelletto, Golasecca-style cremations were probably adopted because they provided a more elaborate funerary ritual for high-status people. Among others, these developments also show people's focus on regional centres of power as important 'trendsetters', like Mediolanum. And along the Ticino Valley, Transalpine contacts also continued to be of importance in shaping local cultural understandings down to the first century BC.

From the beginning of the first century BC, sociocultural change entered a new phase. The keyword has to be *participation*. There was not only an increasing involvement of the *Cisalpini* in the Roman army since Marius's army reform, further intensified under Caesar and the triumvirs, but Gauls were also used as private armies and voters in the politics of the late Republic. This goes beyond the annual supply of manpower as auxiliary troops organised as 'ethnic' units. From the early first century BC, the *Cisalpini* had become part of the Roman power game, as we can see from the strong presence of *Transpadani* in Rome, like those who were expelled for political reasons in the 60's BC (cf. Badian 1954, 297). Unlike in the second century BC, the Social War had prompted an accelerating process of 'growing together' within a unified Italy, catalysed by the grants of Latin rights and Roman citizenship to Ligurians and *Transpadani* between 90 and 49 BC. This not only gave rise to the ever more closely knit web of social relations, it also meant that more and more people acquired direct knowledge of Roman power structures. This intensifying interaction between people across Italy resulted in the development of new cultural statements and the adoption of new media. But still in the first century BC, people did not just copy Roman forms. For example, instead of adopting Latin epigraphy, people reinvigorated the traditional Lepontic epigraphy that goes back to the seventh century BC. We have seen people's ambiguous identities in this period, like that of *Kuitos lekatos*, 'Quintus legatus', from Briona or of Akisios/Acisius who dedicated a *campus* to gods and humans at Vercellae. Despite the close interaction and the encroaching colonisation and urbanisation of the Transpadana in this period, élite people like Kuitos and Akisios did not feel compelled to excel in their '*Romanitas*'; instead something original and new was created by a process of 'creolisation'. As with other Italo-Roman cultural imports (like Campanian black-glaze ware), imported elements were alienated from their original meaning and adapted to suit local cognitions.

Already for centuries, élites in Northwest Italy had used prestige goods from various cultural origins—Etruscan, Greek, Transalpine Hallstatt/La Tène and local products—primarily as markers of status.

The subsequent use of so-called ‘Roman’ artefacts (most of which come from Etruria or Campania) in the second and first centuries BC is no different, which makes us rethink the significance of these traditional markers of ‘Romanisation’. Indeed, the peak of locally produced luxury pottery (*vasi a trottola*) and *cassetta-litica* tombs can be seen in the first century BC. This was no statement of cultural resistance, but it shows above all that an increasing number of people had acquired the resources to display their enhanced status and that these people used the cultural repertoire readily available (known or meaningful) to emulate the traditional behaviour of their local élites.

Status display in a funerary context was very important to local people, notably those along the Ticino Valley, and the increasing access to imports made funerary rituals and grave goods increasingly elaborate. At the cemeteries at Ornavasso, for example, the many Italo-Roman imports were merely a phase, resulting from the kind of status display that had dominated Iron Age cemeteries for generations and can thus hardly be interpreted as a sign of people’s *Romanitas*; after all, grave goods were extremely rare in late Republican tombs in Rome, largely limited to Charon coins and oil lamps (i.e. the numerous luxurious grave goods of the ‘tomba gentilizia’ at Gravellona Toce still reflect local traditions in even the late first century AD). At Valeggio, Gambolò, Oleggio, Gravellona Toce and many other cemeteries, we can recognise various, often simultaneous, developments that took place in the first century BC, starting with isolated adoptions of imports, gradual changes in funerary rituals, perhaps afterlife beliefs and finally the abandonment of Iron Age artefacts. But still in the mid-first century BC those elements that reflect most clearly people’s identities—status, rank, age group, gender and perhaps community/*ethnos*—derive from the regional Iron Age cultural repertoire. Dress, as an important aspect of people’s identities, is the most persistent item down to the Augustan period as it conveyed information, such as a sign of adherence to a particular social group as well as rank and marital status within local society. Female dress appears even more ‘persistent’, probably because male-female relationships were expressed in traditional understandings. If we take into account archaising trends in the funerary record, then we can expect our evidence to lag behind societal developments by many years, perhaps even by a generation.

The archaeological evidence from the first century BC suggests that existing social hierarchies, ideologies and symbols of power largely continued to motivate people’s decisions. The individual made new additions to the existing repertoire, perhaps because more people now received a burial. But in the second half of the first century BC, cultural change acquired a new dynamic that rapidly changed the artefact assemblages and funerary rituals within a generation, which appears as a rupture

in the archaeological record (certainly when compared to the rather gradual changes in the previous and the subsequent period; also cf. the more or less contemporary demise of Transalpine La Tène 'culture'). While previously people probably hardly noticed how quickly society was changing, now the changes affected important aspects of people's lives: even in a rural context, like the Lomellina, we can see the end of indigenous dress, Iron Age *vasi a trottola*, the Lepontic alphabet and the large-scale adoption of new artefacts that appeared in larger quantities than ever before (bronze vessels, oil lamps, etc.). In this respect, Roman *olpai* appear as a poor replacement for the rather elegant Iron Age *vasi a trottola* which must have had an intrinsic value that got lost. We would expect prestigious objects, like the *vasi a trottola*, to have had a relatively long 'half-life'; after all, the Padane drachma still circulated almost a century after it ceased being minted. This makes the rather 'sudden' disappearance of other typical Iron Age grave goods even more striking. Some Iron Age forms do survive into the Principate, but mainly in a rural context, like some types of coarse ware pottery which may reflect lower status and limited financial resources. The transformation in Liguria appears particularly profound: in the late Iron Age, there is hardly any form of status display or regular cemeteries; but after the first century BC, we are dealing with an extensively urbanised society, urban necropoleis and monumental inscriptions across Liguria, with people participating in empire-wide trade and buying into the 'cosmopolitan' material culture of the *Imperium Romanum* (e.g. South Gaulish Samian ware). Altogether, it seems that many societal changes—and their cultural fallout in the archaeological record—took place before the colonial foundations of the triumviral and Augustan colonies that profoundly changed the indigenous landscape of Northwest Italy.

How is it possible to explain change of this magnitude? If it had been merely expressions of loyalty to Rome, an economic development or the use of Roman media to consolidate élite authority, then we would have seen many of these changes earlier. Augustus's 'cultural revolution' as a major motor of cultural change can also be largely excluded since most transformations had already happened prior to Augustus's autocracy. If his cultural revolution had some influence on Northwest Italy, then we would also need to comprehend what created the locals' interests in Roman culture in the first place. In order to understand the gravity of change, we need to work out above all why those pre-existing (indigenous) social structures, which had been re-enacted, re-invigorated and adapted over and over again with only minor changes for almost two centuries after the conquest, were not compelling any more to the local populations.

As we have discussed earlier, one important premise for such a *rupture* must have been the failure of pre-existing ideologies to convince the local

people. There were many aspects that could have gradually built up the collapse of local social structures, like the intensifying economic threat posed by the presence of Roman-style markets, like Cremona and the *Campi Macri*, or the commodification of social transactions by monetisation. But as we have seen, local élites appeared to be capable of counter-acting such threats for many generations after the conquest and perhaps even using them to their advantage. The participation of élites, soldiers, traders and merchants from Liguria and the Transpadana in Italy-wide affairs was a crucial factor in stimulating profound change. In this respect, the Gallic and Civil Wars were vital because of the large number of *Cisalpini* who were involved (probably eight legions levied here by Caesar alone) combined with the long duration of their service as well as the focus on charismatic generals. This made it possible to forge a new common consciousness, a new idea of hierarchy and allegiance that focussed on Caesar, Pompey, Marc Antony and Octavian/Augustus, thus preparing for the autocratic regime of the Principate and the princeps' rôle as *pater patriae* for the whole of Italy. It must have been obvious to the *Cispadani* and *Transpadani* that they had to lobby Pompeius Strabo and Iulius Caesar to grant them *ius Latii* and Roman citizenship. During their many years of service, the Cisalpine legionaries experienced the culture and wealth of the Hellenistic East and they acquired firsthand knowledge of Roman symbols of power and their meaning. Those who returned home to Northwest Italy may not have been able to reintegrate in their local community. Subélite people dared to question the validity of existing social structures because they experienced overpowering forms of authority under Caesar and Augustus. The participation of subaltern classes in Italy-wide affairs meant that the inequalities and shortcomings in local societies were more easily revealed to the returning soldiers as well as to the increasingly well-off *populus*, the town dwellers, 'nouveaux riches' and all the others who profited from Roman citizenship after 49 BC. As a result, traditional élite strategies to consolidate their power could lose their force to convince, further stimulated by local 'élites' having become more heterogeneous. This legitimisation crisis made possible the apparent seriousness of sociocultural change between Republic and Principate. Did this create a 'vacuum' that needed to be filled with new meaning? First, social hierarchies needed to be realigned, creating a stronger focus on Rome in this period; only in a second phase did people develop appropriate cultural expressions and lifestyles.

It is important to bear in mind that for the many people who had acquired status and prominence in a Roman society since Caesar, most Iron Age artefacts, rituals and behaviour must have quickly become meaningless and lost their relevance, notably if their prime use was to signify status and structure social relations. Cultural change was sparked

off by societal change, but cultural models also shaped people's behaviour and thus the patterns of social structures. An important stimulus was the grant of Roman citizenship, making possible integration, notably in a process of profound social upheaval across Italy. After 49 BC, Italy was no longer divided into conquerors and conquered or between Romans and second-class *peregrini*. Roman citizenship provided rights and privileges and consequently also new opportunities which some local people willingly took up, as we have seen in the case of the legal discourses when many of the new Roman citizens voluntarily appealed to the Roman praetor in order to avoid law-speaking in their own small-scale societies. In the *lex de Gallia Cisalpina*, guidelines had to be imposed to limit the cases that could be transferred to Rome. For the wealthiest élites from Cisalpine Gaul, citizenship also meant a share in power, joining the ranks of the equestrian and senatorial order. All this not only undermined the authority and esteem of local institutions, but it also redefined people's place in the Roman state: we see the development of new (supra-national) élite groups, like the omnipresent equestrians and senators that can be found in virtually each *ciuitas* in Northwest Italy.

These élites were becoming increasingly interconnected—economically, politically and socially, also by intermarrying across ethnic, *ciuitas* and provincial boundaries—so that we can no longer talk about Romans and natives, since ethnic labels had become unimportant in a society which had become so intertwined and interdependent. Instead, élites aimed to demarcate themselves from other élite and subélite groups. And as senator, for example, one was expected to adhere to a certain code of conduct that shaped one's identity. New citizens could hardly be expected to have internalised Roman *mores maiorum*; hence the need for legislators like Augustus to define appropriate behaviour for the various classes of Roman citizens. New status symbols meaningfully represented people's positions and self-identities in the Roman state. But people did not just express their *Selbstverständnis* in Geza Alföldy's definition (i.e. without any relationship to other people's expectations: Alföldy [ed, 2001]), instead they tried to present an idealised image of what other people expected to see. For example, in the Principate there was no point in putting up an inscription in Lepontic for an élite who aspired for status in a Roman hierarchy. Latin might already have been a *lingua franca* for many generations, but it then became a cultural issue—a natural choice—for the upper classes: in the Roman empire, Latin and Greek were the two culturally dominant languages (Isidore's *linguae sacrae* together with Hebrew, Isidore *de ling. gent.* 9.1.12f; cf. Horace *Odes* 3.8.5; Rochette 1995; Haeussler 1998b).

But we have to look beyond the élites. People experienced their life in the Roman world in many different ways and they therefore were

motivated to take diverse choices. Those people who excelled in their *Romanitas* were largely limited to the top élite with close connections to Rome. Local decurions might have aspired to the same values, but they could hardly achieve them due to a lack of adequate education, financial resources and contacts. People like Enicus who boasted of his status as decurion on a *pietra fluviale* (perhaps because he and his family had no comparable rank in the Republic) already lead us to the creative uses of Latin epigraphy in the Principate, adapted to indigenous cognitions, similar to the many distinctive inscriptions in rural Canavese that demonstrate how new epigraphic and onomastic habits could be fashioned out of many different cultural elements. Notably in the towns, many of the wealthy freedmen, merchants and craftsmen looked for ways to display publically their achievements and their success. If they were able to employ a good stonemason, their tombstone and public identity might appear Roman, but this does not mean that these people internalised Roman culture. Instead, we can see the development of a blurred image of Roman élite culture, similar to the development of vulgar Latin. The subaltern classes in Northwest Italy were not just ‘passive’ recipients of élite culture by some nebulous trickle-down effect. The various imperial and global discourses, which a large proportion of the local population participated in, represent important factors for understanding cultural developments—and also a crucial difference from the late Iron Age.

In the Republic, cultural developments in Northwest Italy reflect an enormous creativity and a certain experimenting character. Despite increasing sociocultural diversity, this was partly lost during the Principate, creating this conventional image of cultural ‘standardisation’. This level of ‘standardisation’ cannot be explained by countless individuals each making free and spontaneous cultural choices. Choices were motivated by cultural models, social norms and a particular global discourse that together created an idea of ‘appropriate’ behaviour. One major factor is the degree of interaction both across Italy and within each community. Within the cities, a number of social groups developed, like the various *collegia* which not only imposed their particular behavioural code on its members (e.g. dress code), but each *collegium* also had a number of influential local dignitaries as *patroni*: the identity of an individual member was not only inspired by other people’s performances, but it also had to face up to various expectations. The extent of geographical mobility, social mobility and urbanism appears to have created an increasingly ‘anonymous’ society in which individuals were encouraged to join a ‘social club’, whether religious or political, since these institutions created a sense of community (also cf. diaspora communities, like the diaspora of Jews or foreign auxiliary soldiers); moreover, subélite people would join one of the many (burial) associations just to get a

proper funeral (cf. *Dig.* 47. 22 I). The self-display of veterans, *seuiri Augustalis* and *flamines*, senators as *patroni*, and of the *plebs urbana* making dedications to the emperor all show that status in a local community increasingly related to Rome and Roman structures. And the princeps—his representations, his rôle as *pater patriae* and as protector of the plebs—intruded into every local community in Italy. But what does this mean in cultural terms? Besides these patronage links, social and religious individualisation was very prominent in the Principate; people therefore made particular decisions in a highly complex society, and we have to understand how the various social institutions, discourses, cults and ideologies could have guided people's behaviour to such an extent as to have achieved the level of cultural 'standardisation' with which individuals and communities used to express their identity in a 'global world'.

But of course, all these Roman ideologies could have remained 'hollow'. The question arises as to what extent they could really have become compelling and shape people's behaviour, their ambitions, aspirations and lifestyles. Did people internalise Roman ideology and follow, for example, the *mores maiorum* to the letter? We have to look at the discrepant ways in which each person—and not just the élite—experienced the various 'ideologies' and how they participated in the discourses. As we have seen, it must have been barely possible for many subélite groups in the local societies, notably in an urban context, not to participate in the global, legal and imperial discourses we identified earlier. Together, we can see a wide range of media that communicated specific values and principles and encouraged the (often subconscious) internalisation of cultural models which could have motivated and guided people's actions and their ambitions. But while some people might have been motivated to engage in Roman politics or join the Roman army, the majority of people only internalised some models. They engaged with dominant discourses, élite lifestyle, economic thinking, Roman myth and local cults; this created new cultural varieties, blurred copies of élite culture and new cultural, linguistic and religious expressions by taking up various existing elements and endowing them with new meaning.

The colonial discourses of the Republic (e.g. on *bellum iustum*, 'bilateral' *foedera*, exploiting the conquered, colonies as 'bastions of the empire', etc.) developed into a highly complex (and persuasive) imperial discourse in the Principate. During Augustus's reign we witness a significant step towards a 'new state' in which 'ideology became a common, a prominent feature' (in the words of Geertz 1973b, 222). Rome's ideology was reinvented to match her claim to world domination: *Romanae spatium est urbis et orbis idem* (*Ov. Fast.* 2.684; cf. Nicolet 1991, 110–11; Haeussler 1997–1998 (1999)). Ideology is clearly mirrored in contemporary art,

architecture and literature (cf. Zanker 1988; Habinek and Schiesaro 1997; Feeney 1998, 46; Wiseman 1998). Literature, architecture and religion became important media since myth and history (epitomised by Livy and Vergil who happened to be from Cisalpine Gaul, cf. Buchheit 1963; cf. Mratschek 1984 for Rome's 'Sendungsbewußtsein' in Vergil; also cf. Hopkin's 'Conquest by Book' [1991]) allowed the legitimisation of Augustus's rule and Rome's superiority by creating a common point of reference, which is comparable to many other state societies in their process of formation (cf. Geertz's 1980 discussion of Bali which highlights the importance of myth, history and religion as common points of reference in society). And with economic prosperity being attributed to the emperor and the *pax Romana* (cf. Plutarch, *Precepts of Statecraft* 32; Aristides, *To Rome* 93–100), it is not surprising that people of various statuses, like the local *plebs urbana*, made dedications to the princeps who epitomised the well-being of the Roman state.

The honorary arches at Augusta Praetoria and Segusio, the impressive gateways of Augusta Taurinorum or the *Tropaeum Augusti* manifest the supremacy of Rome. These features served to create not just an intellectual but a material existence for the ideologies of the Augustan period so that they would become compelling. In a local context, monumental architecture, as in the case of the forum, was meant to impress and intimidate; it was the venue for everyday rituals where social hierarchies as well as cultural, religious and legal understandings could be communicated, performed and re-enacted, creating a common consciousness among the local population and, whether intended or not, a physical presence of Rome. Also, the princeps' rôle as *pater patriae* was important for Italy—Augustus's *tota Italia*—as it helped to realign patronage networks throughout Italy with one person: it was further strengthened by the institution of the *flamen* of the imperial cult through which sociopolitical relationships were clouded in persuasive religious dimensions. *Fora* and the imperial cult were powerful institutions. But they are not signs of Roman 'oppression'; these symbols and institutions relied above all on locals investing in Roman-style architecture and in making a career as *flamen* or *seuir*—priesthoods that increasingly acquired more esteem than even the highest local magistracies like *duumviri*. It appears that state-formation and societal developments had gathered a certain momentum in which external bonds across Italy became increasingly important.

As we have seen in the case of Cottius, some people may not have only displayed their 'Romanitas' in order to show publically their loyalty to Rome and their adherence to Roman society, but they actually internalised many of the Roman values and cultural models to varying degrees, feeling compelled by them as they motivated their actions and

engaged their minds. Certain élites were obviously convinced that they had to build Roman baths, porticoes and theatres even at the margin of the Roman empire, not to show off their prosperity or distribute their wealth, but because they saw it as a necessary choice to fulfil their ideals of society. Buying into Roman concepts of *humanitas*, people, including some wealthy subélite people, wanted the whole community to profit from their philanthropy, from their embellishment of their cities. There were some individuals and social groups with empire-wide networks and interests developing common forms of cultural expression and finally aspirations to a common (not necessarily 'Roman') lifestyle. People like Vibius Crispus demonstrated the necessity for self-assimilation, for *paideia*, *humanitas* and rhetoric which were also markers of their status—a level of education hardly achievable by subélite classes.

We have seen that urbanism played a crucial rôle in stimulating and shaping the various sociocultural developments in the Principate (by comparison, in the Republic, towns and *coloniae* appear barely visible in the archaeological record, suggesting agglomerations with hardly any monumental architecture). One could of course argue that some of our main protagonists—the municipal élites—consisted of wealthy landowners who primarily resided in the countryside where they encouraged surplus production in order to finance their conspicuous lifestyle. The town may therefore be considered marginal to élite interests and thus marginal for spreading *Romanitas*. But in the Principate, urbanism also became synonymous with *humanitas* (civilisation) which explains the élites' efforts to embellish their cities. Also through urbanism, authority was no longer concentrated in the hands of a few wealthy landowners, but a newly defined group of decurions had to act collectively and develop an identity to demarcate themselves from subélite classes. Inter-élite competition created new forms of status display in an urban context, using the city as a stage to communicate ideology, education and cultural values in the Principate. Without cities, the ruling classes might have only displayed their *Romanitas* (and their wealth) in private, for example at their rural residences, and the subélite classes would have never had access to the opportunities for which the urban society stood, namely upward social mobility, the markets, the specialisation of crafts and monetisation. Without the city as political and religious centre, it is difficult to understand how a set of shared values and principles that was common across the Roman empire throughout the first, second and third centuries AD would have been communicated to the many subaltern classes. The consolidation of power in a rural context through a rural residence, rural sanctuaries and rural *mausolea* could have only had a limited effect on people's identity, while urbanism was crucial in promoting a particular identity and lifestyle.

We have to look at a wider picture that involves the various social strata. Taking into account that at least 200,000 people lived in more than 20 cities in Northwest Italy (there were some large colonies that already started off with 6,000 colonists, plus *familia* and possible additional settlers and colonists, notably thousands of veterans in the triumviral period), it appears that the lives of countless people were transformed when they moved to these new urban centres. These cities provided an ethnic, cultural and linguistic melting pot—the classical contact situation where settlers from Campania, Latium and Samnium and locals from Liguria and the Transpadana all had to adapt to a new environment, with many people being socially pressured to ‘assimilate’ to the specific local cultures that emerged. In the cities, a new momentum was created: there emerged a social diversification and new social groups, like the various associations that each developed its own identity and code of conduct. People had to adapt to very specific situations, like finding an economic niche, participating in civic cults, guilds and associations, going to the theatre, circus and games, experiencing elite performances in politics, cults and law courts, and many more. In a way, many people might have been gradually socialising or enculturating to urban life without being aware of it. The city was also a place where people could experiment with new cultural propositions which is most apparent in the religious diversification in Northwest Italy. But did people still have free choice? The individual was negotiating his/her place in urban society within the social, cultural, economic, religious and architectural structures that shaped people’s lives and their actions.

One might now expect that all people adopted this ‘homogenous culture’, but of course this was not possible. Not only is it difficult to define the ‘Roman culture’ that we should expect to find in Northwest Italy, which is certainly impossible in the Republic, but it was also individuals who negotiated their identities in the various local contexts, creating a bricolage out of the cultural features and material culture available to them, emulating or even mimicing the elite lifestyle and taking up elements of different cultural traditions, thus ultimately creating something new. Despite ‘globalisation’, the cultural features which the individuals experienced and the choices they had to display their position in society could vary from place to place. Artefact assemblages derived from a certain ‘repertoire’ that became increasingly similar across Italy, and inscriptions largely followed the standardised formulae, layout and terminology. But underneath these similarities, we have to look out for diversity and subtle differences: irregularities, for example, can indicate individual choices depending on people’s background and social status. The examples of Novaria, Vercellae, Canavese and the territory of the Bagienni, for example, have also allowed us to recognise

regional differences regarding people's ambitions and traditions, and how people made use of epigraphy, onomastics and material culture. As in modern contexts, globalisation phenomena create local identities, which the modern term 'glocalisation' suggests.

We need to imagine highly complex cultural developments. For example: how can we imagine the 'spread' of 'Roman' cultural features (e.g. Latin epigraphy; funerary rituals following the *mos romana*; *humanitas* and a lifestyle propagated by the senatorial order) in the Principate. Can we still distinguish 'Roman' from 'global' in the Principate: for example, is the increasing literacy a global phenomenon across the Mediterranean or a particularly 'Roman' phenomenon? We need to consider a personal picture in which people acted within a network of personal relations and in turn profited from this network. At the élite level, this means that the spread of Roman cultural features is no 'diffusion' or 'wave' from the centre to the periphery, but a web of personal contacts between individuals—a web that was very dense within Italy. On the top level of society, for example, there were some aristocrats who had close contacts across Italy and beyond; hence the importance of senators and equestrians in every *ciuitas* who could use their personal networks, for example, to employ Greco-Roman architects or artists. Senators not only introduced Roman-style behaviour in the local context (e.g. euergetism, *humanitas* and manumission), they also inspired aspirations and provided opportunities for local people. This social network was not only orientated vertically—from Rome and the princeps via senators and equestrians to municipal élites and to subaltern classes—but also horizontally. There also were different groups within the various social strata who had Italy-wide or empire-wide networks of traders in wine, clothes, pottery, glass or marble, networks of specialised craftsmen and architects, religious networks (notably contacts among specific religious groups across Italy and the empire, including Mithras, Isis, Judaism and Christianity) and of course soldiers and veterans (with contacts to fellow soldiers and civilians across the empire). There was thus an exchange of ideas across long distances based on personal contacts. This created a sense of belonging together, a common consciousness, which may be reflected in common cultural expressions, for external displays of identity. But people also had to rethink the nature of their own understandings in this wider world: for example, people tried to make sense of their local deities, inserting them into a supra-mythical narrative while also recognising local particularities and expressing them by divergent names or representations, like Mars Albiorix, Apollo Belenos, Jupiter Poeninus and many more.

This does not mean that people actively adopted a particular Roman culture and lifestyle. Even though the top élite was only a tiny segment of the population, they set the *exempla* that could be emulated by local

people. This does not mean that municipal élites, traders and craftsmen aspired to the same values, behaviour and education as those of the senatorial or equestrian order. Moreover, there is always the possibility of mimicry. In a post-colonial context, mimicry describes the ways in which the ‘colonised’ create a ‘blurred copy’ of the culture of the ‘colonisers’ (cf. Ashcroft *et al.* 2009, 124–7). In our case, however, it can mean that the subélite classes mimicked the local élite classes as a kind of mockery, since certain aspects of élite lifestyle might have been rejected by the local classes, such as their conspicuous lifestyle or élite morality. This may have created cultural expressions that were inspired by the élite or dominant culture, but that were also different. Having rejected the model of a ‘progressive Romanisation’, we can hardly interpret this as a ‘resistance to Romanisation’ or as various ‘degrees’ of ‘Romanisation’ or ‘*Romanitas*’. Instead, we need to focus on the complex patchwork of processes and circumstances that created these highly individualised choices.

Finally, we have to return to the question of who actually wanted to become Roman in Cisalpine Gaul. In Northwest Italy, this question appears marginal prior to the first century BC. From a legal viewpoint, many people aspired to Roman citizenship—notably in the aftermath of the Social War—since it provided many privileges for people of all strata of society. Yet, even after the block grants of *ciuitas Romana*, only a few people displayed a Roman identity or identified themselves with Rome. Some people may have been pressured to follow a code of conduct or lifestyle similar to that of a Roman senator, notably the top élite; a late Republican senator was of course heavily ‘Hellenised’, but there developed a particularly Roman élite identity, combining Hellenism with Rome’s *mores maiorum* and definitions of appropriate élite behaviour (e.g. Augustus legislations, the *censores*, Cicero’s discourses). With the development of an Italy-wide senatorial class, its members had increasingly internalised aspects of this élite culture. This is not the case with the other social groups. Is it possible that people became ‘Romanised’ without becoming ‘Roman’? As we have seen, there were a number of powerful discourses which people participated in and which communicated specific values and ideas. These discourses were important in shaping people’s identity and how they saw their place in the Roman empire. The level of interaction, social and economic interdependencies across Italy created a certain ‘global’ cultural repertoire which people used to express their identity. Most people did not make conscious decisions to present themselves as ‘Roman’, but as described above, they socialised in a specific environment or felt pressured to assimilate in order to participate in a specific social group. People’s motivations, their beliefs, understandings and behaviours may have varied; but because they made use of a

certain repertoire, it is difficult for us to recognise the subtle differences in the archaeological and epigraphic records. Hence our obligation is to look for diversity. In this respect, the evidence from the Canavese is just the tip of the iceberg: we have seen how a rural population—still largely embedded in Iron Age material culture—adopted Latin epigraphy and adapted it to suit to their cognitions, emphasising different characteristics, like the importance of people's age, rather than career or success.

I hope that this study of Northwest Italy provides food for thought to improve our understanding of social and cultural changes in the course of expansion of the Roman empire and especially of the heterogeneity of Italy and Roman society. We have come a long way from internal struggles to consolidate social hierarchies and access to economic resources and 'manpower' in the second and first centuries BC to this web of interrelated social and economic relations of people of all strata of society that affected an everincreasing proportion of society. The extent and intensity of the *Cisalpini*'s participation in Italy-wide affairs clearly distinguished the Principate from the Republic. The archaeological evidence suggests that we entered a phase of profound change long before Augustus's cultural revolution or the massive colonisation under the triumvirs and Augustus. We have seen that the Roman conquest introduced from the very beginning new structures—economic, military and legal—that constrained people's choices, realigning and invigorating endogenous developments. But we should not overemphasise the rôle of Roman imperialism: on their own, economic exploitation, taxes and army levy were not sufficient to encourage people in Italy to integrate or to pressure them to 'Romanise'—not as long as existing local hierarchies, symbols of power, economic inequalities and ideologies continued to be meaningful to individuals. Economic threats, for example, were repeatedly counteracted by local people who strived to consolidate their status. It is necessary to recognise that a legitimisation crisis must have occurred to understand the scale of change that took place in the first centuries BC/AD. But change was above all a cultural phenomenon. It is the individual who made cultural choices—both conscious and subconscious—depending on his/her experiences in the local community and how he/she saw his/her place in this world. These experiences differed enormously through time, from place to place and depending on people's status, gender, age and wealth. Many people had to adapt to the code of conduct of their social group to fulfil external expectations. The towns, for example, provided an environment to communicate the new ideas and experiment with new cultural features, with people developing new identities and new behavioural patterns, while being pressured to 'mainstream' in a dominant local culture. Rome was largely uninterested in the majority of local people, except for laying down rules of good practice—notably

for municipal élites—in order to avoid civil strife. In this way, integrating local élites, redefining social groups, discourses on *humanitas* and benevolence, etc.—all served to stabilise the Roman empire.

In contrast to many other studies, it has been my aim to understand the motivations of individuals from all social strata in initiating socio-cultural change and to examine the degree of ‘internalisation’ achieved. As we have seen, not only was there nothing like a homogenous ‘local élite’ who would have passed on their *Romanitas* to their subjects by some nebulous trickle-down effect, but we have also examined the active part played by many subélite groups in shaping local group identities, cults, cultural expressions and behavioural patterns. Indeed, much of our evidence is clearly the result of the choices of individuals—in a highly individualistic society—and it is therefore difficult to generalise for a whole community. The degree of social and spatial mobility in the Principate and the web of personal relationships, including patronage and economic dependencies, demonstrate the extent to which the individual was faced with new challenges. Rather than ‘self-Romanisation’ or ‘self-assimilation’, we can compare people’s integration in a new social group with processes of socialising or enculturation. Each individual adopted a set of behaviours and practices, values and attitudes which they considered appropriate in a specific context and which defined his/her actions, aspirations and language. In this context, performance was very important to communicate publically what constituted *appropriate* behaviour. Across Northwest Italy, people had to conceive new identities for the many emerging social groups (decurions, craftsmen, traders, members of *collegia*, urban dwellers, etc.). With towns providing ethnic, cultural and linguistic melting pots, these social and cultural differences forced individuals and groups to generate new innovative cultural expressions. Hereby, people used cultural features that were at hand to create their personal cultural expressions by a process of bricolage. Superficially, the various local cultures may resemble each other across Italy in the Principate, but we have seen that behind this seemingly cultural ‘standardisation’ there emerges a patchwork of rather localised cultures: besides local preferences for particular cultural or religious features, we have also recognised divergent ways in which people made use of the available repertoire. As a result, ‘Becoming Roman’ was no premeditated choice for the majority of people. The collective grant of Roman citizenship was an important premise to create a common consciousness within *tota Italia*, but in each local community we are dealing with very heterogeneous social groups that tried to demarcate themselves from other groups by creating specific and diverging identities. In general, we are dealing with many subconscious developments which barely focussed on Rome: people integrated and socialised in social

groups; they might even have aimed to emulate the lifestyle of their local élites, but only few people wanted to be a 'Roman' or express 'Romanness'. With the rôle of the individual *ethnos* or community diminishing from the first century BC, a process of growing together had been initiated. After many generations, people from all strata of society participated in social and economic relations that went beyond their local community and even beyond Italy. Quite independent of Rome and local élites, the individual in Northwest Italy had to find his/her place in the wider world of the Roman Empire.

APPENDIX



Site Index

This index provides an overview of sites that were frequented between the fifth century BC and the third century AD in our area of study. Early Iron Age sites are marked with G for Golasecca or E for Etruscan (i.e. presence of Etruscan finds). Late Iron Age sites are marked with L for La Tène or Ligurian (4th–1st century BC). Roman-period sites are marked with R. The site numbers refer to the map of the area of study Figure I.1. The geographical order follows the modern Italian provinces from south to north: in the region Liguria, there is Imperia, Savona, Genoa and La Spezia; in the region of Piedmont, we find the provinces Alessandria, Asti, Cuneo, Torino, Vercelli, Biella, Novara and Verbano-Cusio-Ossola as well as the autonomous region Aosta.

Modern region of 'Liguria' (*regio IX Liguria and VII Etruria*)

MODERN PROVINCE OF IMPERIA

No.	Period	Name of Site
1	R	Bordighera, Roman tombs
2	R	Bussana, Roman villa
3	LR	Cima d'Aurin, hilltop site (4th c. BC–2nd c. AD)
4	R	Costa Balenae, Roman port
5	GR	Diano Marino / LUCUS BORMANI, Roman settlement and sanctuary
6	R	Imperia / PORTUS MAURICI, Roman port
7	L	Monte Bignone, San Romolo, Iron Age settlement
8	LR	Monte Colma, Verezzo, hilltop site (5th c. BC–2nd c. AD)
9	R	San Bartolomeo al Mare, Roman settlement
10	R	Sanremo, la Foce, Roman villa
11	LR	Ventimiglia / ALBINTIMILIUM, Ligurian 'oppidum' and Roman <i>municipium</i>

MODERN PROVINCE OF SAVONA

No.	Period	Name of Site
12	LR	Albenga / ALBINGAUNUM, Ligurian settlement; Roman <i>municipium</i>
13	R	Albisola / ALBA DOCILIA, Roman villa/mansio (1st–5th c. AD)
15	R	Bergeggi, funerary inscriptions
16	E	Bric delle Anime, Finale Ligure, early Iron Age settlement
17	R	Cisano sul Neva, 2nd–c. funerary monument

18	R	Millesimo, votive inscription by centurion from Alba
19	LR	Savona / SAVO, 'Liguro-Roman' town
20	LR	Vado Ligure / VADA SABATIA, Roman <i>municipium</i>
21	R	Vado Ligure, San Pietro in Carpignana, 'villa rustica'
22	R	Varazze / AD NAVALIA, road station and port

MODERN PROVINCE OF GENOVA

No.	Period	Name of Site
23	R	Albaro, funerary inscription
24	EL	Camogli, Ligurian hilltop site (5th–2nd c. BC)
25	E	Chiavari, early Iron Age, Ligurian cemetery
26	ELR	Genoa / GENUA, Etrusco-Ligurian city, Roman federate city
27	EL	Genova, Bric Castellare di Sestri Ponente, Ligurian hilltop site (6th–4th c. BC)
28	L	Monte Cao/Carlo, Langasco, Campomorone, Ligurian hilltop site, mentioned in <i>sententia Minuciorum</i>
30	R	Rapallo, funerary inscription
31	R	Recco, funerary inscription
32	L	Rossiglione, Ligurian hilltop site, 5th–4th c. BC
33	L	Serra Riccò, hoard of 561 Padane drachmas and <i>oboli</i>
34	R	Sestri Ponente, funerary inscription
35	R	Sori, funerary inscriptions
36	EL	Uscio, Monte Castellaro, 4th–1st c. BC hilltop site

MODERN PROVINCE OF LA SPEZIA

No.	Period	Name of Site
37	ELR	Ameglia, loc. Carfaggio, Ligurian necropolis (4th–3rd c. BC)
38	EL	Ameglia, Bocca di Magra, Roman 'villa' (1st c. AD)
39	R	Arcola, 6th c. BC anthropomorphic stele
40	R	Luni di Ortonovo / LUNA, Roman colony, founded 177 BC
41	L	Monte Castelfermo, Carro, 5th–4th c. BC hilltop site
42	LR	Pignone, Monte Castellano, late Iron Age hilltop site
43	R	VarignanoVecchio, Portovenere, Roman villa (1st c. BC–6th c. AD)
44	GL	Zignago, Castellaro di Vezzosa, hilltop site (6th c. BC–2nd c. AD)
45	E	Zignano, 6th c. BC Celto-Etruscan inscription on anthropomorphic stele

Region of Piedmont (regio IX Liguria)

MODERN PROVINCE OF ALESSANDRIA

No.	Period	Name of Site
46	R	Acqui Terme / AQUAE STATIELLAE, Roman city and spa (the Ligurian Carystum?).
47	R	Brignano Frascata, Roman farm and kiln
48	L	Casal Cermelli, Ligurian settlement and late Iron Age/Republican cemetery
49	R	Capriata d'Orba, Roman rural settlement
50	R	Cassano Spinola, funerary inscription
51	L	Cassine, late Iron Age Ligurian hilltop site
52	L	Casteggio / CLASTIDIUM (Pavia), Ligurian oppidum; battle site 222 BC
53	G	Castelnuova Scrivia, Ponte sullo Scrivia. 6th–5th c. BC Iron Age weapons
54	GLR	Guardamonte, hilltop site (6th c. BC–2nd c. AD)
55	L	Montecastello, Iron Age hilltop site
56	R	Occimiano, Roman settlement; Jupiter dedication

57	LR	Ovada, Roman mining (cf. Rossiglione)
58	R	Quargento / QUADRIGENTI , Roman vicus
59	LR	Rocca Grimalda, Ligurian hilltop site; Roman rural building
60	R	Salsomino, Val d'Aveto, Latin inscription
61	R	Silvano d'Orba, Latin inscription
62	R	Spigno Monferrato, Latin inscription
63	R	Terruggia / VARDAGATE , Ligurian 'oppidum' (Pliny 3.49), Roman <i>municipium</i>
64	GLR	Tortona / (IULIA AUGUSTA) DERTONA , 5th c. occupation; Roman foundation since 2nd c. BC; colonial status since triumvirs
65	L	Serravalle Scrivia: Ligurian settlement (3rd–2nd c. BC)
66	ER	Serravalle Scrivia / LIBARNA , Ligurian 'oppidum' (6th–5th c. BC); town from 1st c. BC; <i>municipium</i> , later colony
67	R	Valenza and Bassignana / VALENTIA , Roman town
68	L	Vigana (Dernice), Ligurian hilltop site (4th–1st c. BC)
69	ELR	Villa del Foro / FORUM FULVII , 'Etruscan emporion' (6th–5th c. BC); Roman town (after 125 BC)
70	R	Viguzzolo, funerary inscription
71	G	Pobietto, Morano sul Po, Protogolasecca cemetery

MODERN PROVINCES OF ASTI and TORINO south of river Po

No.	Period	Name of Site
72	R	Asti / HASTA , Roman town/ <i>conciliabulum</i> (after 125 BC), then <i>municipium</i>
73	L? R	Asti-Revignano, rural site (late Iron Age/Principate)
74	R	Canelli, 3 funerary inscriptions
75	LR	Casalborgone Rottenga, rural settlement (between 60 BC and Augustan period)
76	R	Castagnole Monferrato, inscription
77	R	Castello Roatta Alfero, dedication to Neptune
78	LR	Chieri / CARREUM-POTENTIA , 'oppidum' (from 4th c. BC), Roman town after 125 BC, <i>municipium</i> after c. 90 BC
79	R	Costigliole d'Asti, funerary inscription
80	R	Grazzano, funerary inscription
81	R	Moncalvo, inscription
82	R	Moncucco Torinese, funerary inscription
83	R	Monteu da Po / BODINCOMAGUS-INDUSTRIA , Roman town (from 1st c. BC); Isis-Serapis sanctuary
84	R	Odalengo Monferrato, inscription
85	R	Piovà Massaia, an Pietro, votive inscription
86	R	Ponengo/Cunico, dedications to Jupiter
87	R	Roccaverano, funerary inscription
88	R	Rocchetta Palafea, Roman settlement and inscription (<i>tribu Camilia</i>)
89	R	Tonco, inscription
90	R	Villa San Secondo, Jupiter dedication

MODERN PROVINCE OF CUNEO

No.	Period	Name of site
91	R	Acceglio, inscription
92	R	Alba / ALBA POMPEIA , town founded by Rome after 125 BC, then <i>municipium</i>
93	R	Argentera, Latin inscriptions
94	R	Bastia Mondovì / VICUS BAGINAS , ROMAN FINDS; PTOL. 3.1.45

95	R	Bene Vagienna / AUGUSTA BAGIENNORUM, Augustan veteran colony
96	R	Beinette, Roman-period tombs and funerary inscriptions
97	R	Bersezio, Latin inscription and relief
98	R	Borgo San Dalmazzo / PEDONA, Roman town, probably <i>municipium</i>
99	LR	Boves, Iron Age tombs; Latin inscription
100	R	Bra, Pollenza / POLLENTIA, Roman town/ <i>conciliabulum</i> , then <i>municipium</i>
101	L	Breolungi (Mondovì), 3rd–2nd c. BC settlement
102	ER	Busca, Etruscan and Latin inscriptions
103	R	Camerana, funerary inscription
104	R	Caraglio / FORUM GERMA(NORUM?), Roman town
105	R	Cartignano, Roman remains
106	R	Castelletto Stura, Roman vicus(?); votive deposit
107	R	Castellino Tanaro, funerary inscriptions
108	R	Castelmagno, Roman settlement; Mars dedication
109	R	Castino, funerary inscription
110	R	Cavaliggi, funerary inscription
112	LR	Centallo, settlement, cemetery, inscriptions
113	R	Ceva, Roascio / COEBA, funerary inscription
114	R	Cherasco, inscription
115	GR	Chiusa di Pesio, Iron Age tombs; inscription
116	R	Clavesana, funerary inscription
117	R	Cortemilia, funerary inscriptions
118	LR	Cossano Belbo, Iron Age and Roman settlements
119	R	Costigliole Saluzzo, Roman villa (1st–5th c. AD)
120	LR	Cuneo, late Iron Age and Roman finds
121	R	Demonte, inscription; coin hoard
122	R	Dronero, tombs and inscriptions
123	R	Elva, tombs and inscription
124	R	Envie, inscription
125	R	Entracque, inscription
126	R	Fossano, inscriptions, Diana dedication
127	R	Gaiola, inscription
128	R	Garessio, funerary inscriptions
129	R	Gerbo, funerary inscription
130	R	Govone, funerary inscription
131	R	Igliano, funerary inscription
132	LR	Limone Piemonte, 4th–3rd c. BC Iron Age settlement
133	R	Macra, possible Roman site
134	R	Marene, Jupiter dedication
135	R	Marmora, Victoria dedication
136	R	Mindino, inscription
137	R	Mombarcaro, inscription
138	R	Mombasiglio, inscriptions, Hercules dedication
139	L	Mondovì, cf. Breolungi
140	R	Monesiglio
141	LR	Montaldo di Mondovì, Iron Age hilltop site; Latin votive and funerary inscriptions
142	R	Montanera, Roman finds
143	R	Monterosso Grana, Roman tombs and inscriptions
144	R	Monticello d'Alba, funerary inscriptions
145	R	Morozzo, inscriptions
146	R	Neive, funerary inscriptions

147	R	Pamparato, funerary inscriptions
148	R	Paroldo, inscription
149	R?	Prazzo, inscriptions(?)
150	R	Racconigi, funerary inscriptions
151	R	Rifreddo, inscription
152	R	Roascio: cf. Ceva
153	GLR	Roccavione, Bec Bercissia, Iron Age settlement and cemetery, Roman settlement
154	R	Rocchetta Belbo, Roman finds
155	R	Sale delle Langhe, funerary inscription
156	R	Sale San Giovanni, funerary inscription
157	R	San Damiano Macra, tombs and inscription
158	R	Saluzzo / SALUTIUM, Roman 'vicus'; inscriptions
159	R	San Dalmazio (Saluzzo), funerary inscriptions
160	L	Sampeyre, Iron Age settlement (3rd–2nd c. BC)
161	R	San Stefano Belbo, funerary inscription
162	R	Savigliano, Diana sanctuary of <i>pagus</i> , funerary inscriptions
163	R	Torre Mondovì, inscription
164	R	Trezzo Tinella, inscriptions
165	R	Valdieri, Roman tombs
166	R	Vernante, Roman coins and inscription
167	R	Villanova Solaro, votive inscription
168	R	Vinadio, inscriptions
169	R	Viola, funerary inscription

Region of Piedmont (*regio XI Transpadana*)

MODERN PROVINCE OF TORINO

No.	Period	Name of Site
170	LR	Almese, late Iron Age site; Roman 'villa' (1st–3rd c. AD)
171	R	Andrate, funerary inscriptions
172	R	Alpignano, Roman tombs and inscriptions
173	R	Avigliana / STATIO AD FINES, Roman 'vicus', altars for <i>Matronae</i> and Jupiter
174	R	Balangero, funerary inscription
175	R	Bardonecchia, dedications to Apollo Belenos
176	R	Beaulard (Oulx), dedications to Albiorix
177	R	Beinasco, funerary inscriptions
178	R	Borgone di Susa, Silvanus relief, inscriptions
179	R	Bruzolo, funerary inscription (or from Bersuoli)
180	R	Bussoleno, S. Lorenzo, Roman villa(?); Latin inscriptions; dedications to the <i>Matronae</i>
181	R	Caprie, Roman tombs, dedication to Minerva
182	R	Caselle, Roman villa (1st–3rd c. AD)
183	R	Caselle Torinese, 1st c. AD tomb
184	R	Cavour / FORUM VIBII CABURRUM, Roman town
185	R	Chianocco, funerary inscription
186	R	Cirié, Roman tombs; funerary inscriptions
187	R	Collegno, fraz. Regina Magherita / STATIO AD QUINTUM, <i>statio/mansio</i> , dedication, tombs
188	R	Condove, votive altar
189	R	Corio, 'Romano-Celtic stele'
190	LR	Cuorné, settlement (3rd c. BC–1st c. AD)

191	LR	Exilles / EXCINGOMAGUS, Iron Age hilltop site; Roman <i>statio/mutatio</i>
192	R	Favria, funerary inscriptions
193	R	Forno Canavese, funerary inscriptions
194	R	Grugliasco, relief depicting gladiators (possible villa?)
195	LR	Ivrea / EPOREDIA, Iron Age ‘oppidum’; Roman-citizen colony founded 100 BC
196	R	Levone, funerary inscriptions
197	R	Meana di Susa, tombs and inscriptions
198	R	Milanere (Almese), mosaic; cf. Almese
199	LR	Moncalieri, Testona and Castelveccio, Iron Age and Roman settlements
200	R	Mompantero, Jupiter dedication; prehistoric rock carvings
202	R	Nole, funerary inscription
203	R	Novalesse, possible ‘villa’
204	R	Oulx / STATIO AD (FANUM) MARTIS, <i>statio/mansio</i> , sanctuary to Mars Albiorix
205	R	Perosa Canavese, rural settlement (from 1st c. BC)
207	R	Pianezza, Roman settlement, funerary inscriptions
208	R	Pino Torinese, funerary inscription
209	L	Pont Canavese, Iron Age settlement (5th–2nd c. BC)
210	R	Prascorsano, ‘Romano-Celtic stele’
211	R	Reano, funerary inscription
212	R	Rivara, funerary inscriptions
213	R	Rivarolo Canavese, funerary inscriptions
214	R	Rivoli / MANSIO AD OCTAVUM, <i>statio/mansio</i> ; Roman tombs
215	R	Rosta, rural settlement; tombs
216	R	Salassa—Cava di Rivarotta, Roman finds
217	L	Salto, 3rd–2nd c. BC finds
218	R	San Benigno Canavese, funerary inscription
219	R	San Gallo, funerary inscription
220	R	San Giorgio Canavese, inscription
221	R	San Maurizio Canavese, funerary inscription
222	R	San Ponso, Roman settlement, funerary inscription
223	R	Settimo Torinese, Jupiter dedication, coin hoard
224	LR	Susa / SEGUSIO, ‘oppidum’, capital of the Alpes Cottiae
225	R	Torino / (IULIA) AUGUSTA TAURINORUM, Roman veteran colony (under triumvirs and Augustus)
226	R	Val della Torre, Roman settlement; inscription
227	R	Valperga, Iron Age and Roman settlement, funerary inscriptions
228	R	Venaria Reale, 1st c. AD tombs
229	R	Venaus, Roman bridge
230	R	Villarbasce, Roman tombs, village, mill and inscription

PROVINCE OF BIELLA

No.	Period	Name of Site
231	R	Arrò (Salussola), funerary inscription; Roman tombs
232	R	Biella, dedications to Jupiter and Diana
233	LR	Bessa, mining area.
234	LR	Cerrione, settlement, cemetery, Lepontic and Latin inscriptions
235	R	Dorzano / VICTIMULAE(?), ‘vicus’
236	R	Lessona, funerary inscription
237	R	Occhieppo Inferiore, dedication to Mars

- 238 R Salussola settlement; sacrificial relief
 239 R Zubiena, inscription

PROVINCE OF VERCELLI

- | No. | Period | Name of Site |
|-----|--------|---|
| 240 | R | Albano Vercellese, funerary inscription |
| 241 | R | Bianzè, Jupiter dedication |
| 242 | LR | Borgosesia, Iron Age cemetery; Roman 'vicus'; funerary inscriptions |
| 243 | LR | Borgovercelli, Iron Age settlement and cemetery; Latin inscription |
| 244 | R | Cigliano, funerary inscription |
| 245 | R | Crescentino, inscriptions |
| 284 | R | Fontanetto Po, Mercury dedication; funerary inscriptions |
| 246 | R | Lucedio, funerary inscription |
| 247 | R | Palazzolo Vercellese, inscription |
| 248 | L | Pezzana, La Tène cemetery |
| 249 | EG | Quinto Vercellese, Etruscan <i>bucchero</i> |
| 250 | R | San Genuario (Trino), funerary inscription |
| 251 | R | Santhià, Jupiter dedication; funerary inscriptions |
| 252 | R | Serravalle Sesia (Naula), Roman 'vicus'; inscription |
| 253 | LR | Trino Vercellese / RIGOMAGUS, <i>mansio</i> /vicus, since 2nd c. BC |
| 254 | LR | Vercelli / VERCELLAE, Iron Age 'oppidum', then Latin <i>colonia</i> and Roman <i>municipium</i> |

PROVINCE OF NOVARA

- | No. | Period | Name of Site |
|-----|--------|---|
| 257 | R | Arona, Roman settlement; dedications to Hercules, Mithras |
| 258 | GR | Bellinzago, Golasecca tombs; pottery kiln (1st c. BC–2nd c. AD) |
| 259 | R | Briga Novarese, near Gozzano, Jupiter dedication |
| 260 | G | Briona, San Bernardino di Briona, Golasecca cemetery with <i>tumuli</i> |
| 261 | LR | Biandrate, La Tène cemetery; Roman settlement (1st c. BC–3rd c. AD); Diana dedication |
| 262 | R | Bogogno, Diana dedication |
| 263 | R | Borgolavezzaro, 1st c. AD tombs |
| 264 | R | Borgomanero, Matronae dedication |
| 265 | R | Borgo Ticino, funerary inscription |
| 266 | GL | Burcina, La Tène cemetery |
| 268 | R | Caltignaga, rural building |
| 269 | R | Càmeri, Jupiter dedication |
| 270 | L | Carcegnà, La Tène cemetery |
| 271 | R | Carpignano Sesia, rural building |
| 272 | R | Casalino, dedications to Hercules, Diana and Matronae |
| 273 | R | Casalvolone, dedication to Minerva |
| 274 | R | Casalbeltrame, dedication to Matronae |
| 275 | GR | Castelletto Ticino, Golasecca 'oppidum' and cemetery; Roman cemetery |
| 276 | R | Cavaglio d'Agogna, epitaph of <i>haruspex</i> |
| 277 | R | Cavallirio, dedication to Jupiter, Matronae and Mercury |
| 278 | R | Comignago, Roman cemetery (1st–2nd c. AD) |
| 279 | R | Conturbia Agrate, Diana dedication |
| 280 | GLR | Cureggio, Golasecca-period settlement; Lepontic and Latin inscriptions |
| 281 | L | Dormelletto, 3rd–1st c. BC La Tène cemetery |

282	R	Gallarate (Varese), 1st c. AD cemetery
283	LR	Gattico, late Iron Age and Roman tombs; inscriptions
284	R	Ghemme, Roman settlement and cemetery (1st–3rd c. AD); dedications
285	R	Gozzano, funerary inscriptions
286	R	Invorio, funerary inscription
287	L	Lumello, La Tène cemetery
288	R	Mercurago, dedications to Mercury and Matronae
289	R	Mezzomerico, funerary inscription
290	LR	Oleggio, occupation from 5th century BC; late Iron Age–Roman cemetery
291	LR	Revislate (Veruno), La Tène cemetery; Jupiter dedication
292	R	Romagnano Sesia, funerary inscriptions
293	R	San Pietro Mosezzo, funerary inscription
294	R	Sizzano, rural settlement, inscriptions
295	R	Suno, dedications to Hercules, Mercury, Jupiter and Matronae
296	R	Varallo Pombia, Neptune dedication
297	R	Vicolongo, dedication
298	LR	Vinzaglio, 3rd–1st c. BC cemetery
299	LR	Novara / NOVARIA, Iron Age settlement and cemetery, Latin <i>colonia</i> and Roman <i>municipium</i>
300	R	Novara, Cascina Prella, settlement (1st c. BC–2nd c. AD)
301	R	Trecate, Roman cemetery

Region of Piedmont (regio XI Transpadana)

PROVINCE OF VERBANO CUSIO OSSOLA

No.	Period	Name of Site
302	LR	Bannio Anzino
303	R	Baveno, funerary inscription
304	R	Bieno, funerary inscription
305	R	Canobbio, funerary inscription
306	R	Craveggia, 1st c. AD cemetery
307	R	Crevaldossola, dedication to Moccus and Tincus
308	R	Feriolo, funerary inscription
309	GLR	Gravellona Toce, Iron Age–Roman cemetery
310	GLR	Miazzina, Iron Age and Roman tombs
311	(G)L	Montecrestese, Iron Age cemetery; cult place
312	L	Nonio, Iron Age cemetery
313	LR	Ornavasso, Iron Age and Roman cemeteries
314	R	Pallanza, dedications to Matronae, Fates and Diana
315	R	Val Divedro, Trasquera, funerary inscription
316	R	Vogogna (Val d'Ossola), inscription

Region of Lombardy (regio XI Transpadana)

PROVINCE OF PAVIA: Lomellina

No.	Period	Name of Site
317	LR	Alagna Lomellina, late Iron Age and Roman cemetery
318	GL	Borgo San Siro, Golasecca/Iron Age cemetery
319	R	Breme, funerary inscriptions
320	L	Castel d'Agogna, Iron Age cemetery
321	LR	Carbonara al Ticino, Iron Age cemetery; inscription
322	L	Dorno, Iron Age cemetery

323	GLR	Gambolò, Golasecca finds; La Tène cemetery Belcreda; Roman cemeteries; Minerva dedication
324	GLR	Garlasco, Iron Age cemetery (Madonna delle Bozzole); inscription
325	LR	Garlasco, Cascina Baraggia, cemetery 1st c. BC–2nd c. AD
326	LR	Gravellona Lomellina, Iron Age cemetery, funerary inscription
327	GLR	Gropello Cairoli, Golasecca settlement; La Tène cemetery; Roman finds
328	L	La Sforzesca (Vigevano), Iron Age finds
329	LR	Lomello / LAUMELLUM , <i>mansio</i> /vicus, Iron and Roman finds; inscription, Mercury dedication, <i>arcus</i>
330	R	Mede, funerary inscription
331	L	Pieve del Cairo, Iron Age cemetery
332	R	Rosasco, inscription, Mercury dedication
333	L	San Giorgio Lomellina, Iron Age cemetery
334	L	Scaldasole, Iron Age cemetery
335	R	Semiana, Roman finds
336	L	Suardi, Iron Age cemetery
337	LR	Valeggio Lomellina, Iron Age cemetery; funerary inscriptions
338	LR	Vigevano, Iron Age cemetery (4th–1st c. BC); funerary inscription; <i>villa romana</i> (?)
339	L	Zerbolò, Iron Age cemetery

Autonomous region of Aosta (*regio XI Transpadana*)

AOSTA

No.	Period	Name of Site
340	LR	Aosta / AUGUSTA PRAETORIA , Iron Age finds and tombs; Roman colony
341	LR	Chatillon, Iron Age and Roman settlement
342	R	Donnas, Roman finds
343	LR	Great St Bernhard pass / SUMMUS POENINUS , Sanctuary-temple to Jupiter Poeninus
344	L	Montjovet/Ciseran, Iron Age cemetery
345	R	Pondel, Roman bridge (3 BC)
346	R	Pont-Saint-Martin, Roman bridge
347	R	Roisan / RICOLVI , <i>mansio</i>
348	L	Saint-Martin-de-Corléans (Aoste), Iron Age tombs
349	LR	Saint-Pierre/Sarriod de La Tour, Iron Age and Roman settlement
350	LR	Saint-Rhémy-en-Bosses / EUDRACINUM , Iron Age and Roman settlement
351	LR	Saint-Vincent, Iron Age and Roman settlement (2nd c. AD baths)
352	LR	Sarre, Iron Age finds
353	R	Verrès / VITRICIUM
354	R	Villeneuve, Roman bridge

References



Abbreviations follow the Oxford Classical Dictionary when appropriate.

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Annk Epigraphique</i> , published in <i>Revue Archeologique</i> and separately (1888–) Note: <i>Revue</i> should be the same font.
<i>Amm. Marc.</i>	Ammianus Marcellinus
<i>ASPABA</i>	<i>Atti della Società Piemontese di Archeologia e Belle Arti</i> , Torino.
<i>BSBS</i>	<i>Bollettino storico-bibliografico subalpino</i> , Torino.
<i>BSSSAACn</i>	<i>Bollettino della Società per gli Studi Storici Archeologici ed Artistici della provincia di Cuneo</i> , Cuneo-Torino.
<i>Cass. Dio</i>	Cassius Dio
<i>Cic. Prov. con.</i>	Cicero provinciis consulanbus
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (1863–)
<i>EpiNov</i>	Giovanni Mennella, <i>Epigrafi a Novara</i> , Torino 1999.
<i>Holder</i>	Holder 1896–1919.
<i>IAugPraet</i>	Cavallaro and Walser 1988.
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> .
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , Berlin 1892–1916.
<i>InscrIt</i>	Ferrua 1948.
<i>ILV</i>	Roda 1985.
<i>Leg.</i>	<i>De legibus</i>
<i>Pais</i>	E. Pais, <i>Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementa Italica</i> . Rom 1884.
<i>Pliny NH</i>	Pliny (the Elder) <i>Naturalis historia</i>
<i>Plut. sert</i>	Putarch Sertorius
<i>QuadAPiem</i>	<i>Quaderni della Soprintendenza di Archeologia nella Piemonte</i> , Torino.
<i>RIG</i>	Lejeune 1988. <i>Receuil des inscriptions Gauloises (R.I.G.)</i> , vol. II, fasc. 1. <i>Textes gallo-étrusques, textes gallo-latines sur pierres</i> . Paris: CNRS (XLV ^e supplement à Gallia).
<i>RII</i>	<i>Rivista Ingauna e Intemelia</i> , n.s., Bordighera, 1946ff.
<i>RRC</i>	Crawford 1976.
<i>RRCH</i>	Crawford 1969.
<i>RSL</i>	<i>Rivista di Studi Liguri</i> , Bordighera.
<i>SuppIt</i>	<i>Supplementa Italica</i> , N.S. 1, 1981–25, 2010. Roma: Qasar.
<i>Tac. Agr.</i>	Tacitus Agricola
<i>TituliAquinc</i>	
<i>TROS</i>	No. of inscription in Cresci Marrone, G. and Culasso Gastala, E., <i>Per pagos vicosque. Torino romana fra Orco e Stura</i> , Padova, 1991

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